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CONTENTS

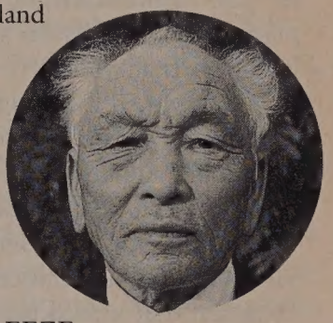
NUCLEAR TIMES

FEATURES

11
Kazakhs Stop Soviet Testing The Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement stopped nuclear tests in Kazakhstan. Now it speaks for nuclear victims around the world. By James Lerager

16
Rethinking Deterrence The decline of the Cold War and the future of nuclear weapons. By John Tirman

20
Toxic Travels Millions of tons of military toxics are making war on the lives and land of this nation at more than 20,000 contaminated sites. By Seth Shulman



DEPARTMENTS

2
Editors' Note

3
Dispatches Iraqi Guns of August, Nuclear Navy Challenged, Downsizing SANE/FREEZE, NFZs Lose Ground, Weapons Plants Victims...and more.

34
Tactics Bold acts and the politics of survival: Plowshares, Earth First!, and other activists fight for life. By Richard L. Grossman

38
Peacemaker Profile Linda Stout brings peace to the Piedmont. By Leslie Fraser

41
International Activists face new challenges at the ninth European Nuclear Disarmament convention. By Joergen Dragsdahl

43
Interview Tair Tairov's Civic Peace: declarations of independence. By John Tirman

45
Research & Analysis Gary Milhollin's crusade against nuclear proliferation. By Miranda Spencer

49
Peace Education New York City's Resolving Conflict Creatively Program. By Tracey Cohen

51
Peace Economy Tennessee coalition tackles the federal budget. By Verna M. Fausey

53
Deadline The "peace dividend" stories the news media miss. By Joseph J. Romm

56
Resources

Autumn 1990 Volume 8, Number 3

Editors' Note
After the Berlin Wall

The events of the summer just concluded were like a script for the post-Cold War world, and not an especially pleasant drama it is. The most memorable act, of course, is the Iraqi-American confrontation in the Persian Gulf. For years, it was obvious that the gradual departure of the superpowers from the world stage would open it to the heavily militarized regimes that heretofore were bit players in the "twilight struggle" between Moscow and Washington. Right on cue enters Saddam Hussein. Like a Hollywood caricature of Arab ruthlessness, he is violent, mysterious, and virulently anti-American, playing the populist to a receptive audience of millions. Unfortunately, his is a show that will likely last for several seasons, an all-too-real drama.

Throughout the summer, a very different kind of tragedy continued to unfold—the steady destruction of the environment. Before the military departed for Arabia, Senator Sam Nunn launched a new idea designed to give the military a role in defending America from ecological disaster.

Nunn, along with Senators Albert Gore, Tim Wirth, Jeff Bingaman, and James Exon, all Democrats, is proposing a Strategic Environmental Research Program that would use the skills and resources of the military, the CIA, and the Energy Department to blunt the assault of this new national security threat—environmental degradation.

The idea has roots in the work of peace researchers, who insisted that America's obsession with military security ignored other types of perils. Prominent among such threats are climate change, deforestation, and overpopulation. A small cottage industry of researchers sprouted in the mid-1980s to develop this analysis. *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *World Policy Journal*, and *Nuclear Times* published the first articles attempting to redefine security.

These ideas soon became widely accepted, particularly after the hot summer of 1988. So Senator Nunn's suggestion gives a certain satisfaction. But his initiative has a side never intended by the concept's originators: apparently public concern about the environment is being used to give the Pentagon a post-Cold War mission.

This is doubly ironic. As Seth Shulman amply demonstrates in our cover story, the U.S. military is the nation's largest polluter. Its use of fossil fuels and other natural resources is awesome; it has created 20,000 toxic waste sites; the radioactive hazards created at its 17 nuclear weapons plants is a national scandal. Any new program should first aim to clean up the ecological disasters the military has spurred for four decades.

Second, the sources of conflict in the third world cannot be solved by the U.S. armed forces. Poverty, overpopulation, and depletion of resources are roots of unrest in the South. As we see in the Persian Gulf, third world conflict often stems from the first world—in this case, our addiction to oil.

So a new drama, "After the Berlin Wall," continues to unfold. It has many acts, many players, and a mixture of tragedy and farce. Activists will have to work hard to write a happy ending.

Cover: Safety meeting during construction of a line pit for the storage of polluted dirt at Rocky Mountain Arsenal, near Denver, Colorado.
Photo credit: Duane Howell/*The Denver Post*

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DISPATCHES

THE GUNS OF AUGUST

The dispatch of U.S. armed forces to the Persian Gulf in August—with the possibility of a months-long presence in Saudi Arabia—has raised a troubling and complex set of questions about U.S. intervention. It has also raised for the first time since the Cuban missile crisis the plausible use of nuclear arms.

If Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein is to be forcibly ousted from Kuwait, which he occupied on August 2 ostensibly over an oil-pricing dispute, a major war is in the offing. If he can be persuaded to leave peacefully, a misleading lesson in "U.S. resolve" might be taught. But if a stalemate evolves, which seems likely, the high cost to America will soon be the pivotal issue.

The community of U.S. peace activists needs to be ready for each of these eventualities, while informing the public of how such a monstrous situation could occur.

The Iraqi action may be viewed as the first crisis of the post-Cold War world, and many more could follow. "With the evident decline of the great post-war military blocks," Michael Klare writes in a Pacific News Service story, Saddam Hussein "appears to think the time is ripe for the emerging powers of the third world to pursue their own hegemonic aspirations. And while Iraq is the first nation to put this approach into practice, it is likely that other aspiring powers will view the Kuwait operation as a model to emulate."

So the first, and perhaps decisive, question is concisely put: Who made Saddam Hussein?

There is plenty of blame to go around, and the United States must accept its share. It treated the Persian Gulf states exclusively as a source of cheap oil and a military bulwark against the Soviet Union for several decades. From the 1930s to the mid-1970s, Western oil companies dominated the Gulf. The CIA's installation of the Shah of Iran and the Nixon-Kissinger scheme to make him the region's superpower stirred Islamic fundamentalism to fanatical excess. And it spurred, however unintentionally, Soviet military moves to occupy Afghanistan and supply Iraq.

The instability of the region gave rise to Hussein and encouraged him to invade Iran in 1980, a war lasting eight years and killing one million. The obsession with Iran and the thrill of watching Iraq enforce a military punishment on the Ayatollah Khomeini dominated official U.S. thinking throughout the 1980s.

During that period, Iraq was lavishly supported by the Soviet Union, France, China, and dozens of others in an orgy of arms sales. According to the Institute for Peace and International Security in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Iraq received $60 billion in arms between 1977 and 1987, the highest recipient in the world. The Soviets provided nearly $14 billion worth in the last five years alone.

Hussein used chemical weapons against Iran and his own Kurdistan people; the latter suffered some 5,000 casualties as a result, with little outcry from Washington or any other major power. His threats to invade Kuwait started ten years ago. His human rights record is among the worst in the world.

But the United States did little to repair the fractured region or to listen to Arab concerns. Hussein was given helicopters, wheat, and nuclear training by the United States, while American diplomats confined policy to ensuring the flow and control of oil and guaranteeing the primacy of Bedouin dynasties.

So a pattern of exploitation, neglect, and arms sales

CARTOONISTS' DEPICTIONS OF SADDAM HUSSEIN FUEL WAR FEVER AND FEED ON ANTI-ARAB RACISM.

created the conditions in which Saddam Hussein could prosper. The superpowers had signaled to all in the region that might makes right, a lesson Hussein learned well. Now the West, tenuously backed by a divided Arab world, hopes to impose yet another military "solution" against an adversary whose own military is a testament to the folly of such ideas.

Whatever the sins of the past, however, it must be acknowledged that Hussein is dangerous, a danger not only to the royal families of the Gulf but to world peace. He has an arsenal of chemical weapons, the desire for nuclear arms, and the will to use both. The U.S.-led action against Hussein is widely applauded as a necessary response. But there are several troubling dimensions of the U.S. intervention.

The rationale. The U.S. has equated "vital interests" with the flow of cheap oil. President Bush, in his first televised speech, intoned loftier ideals, but they were vague; the hysteria about oil rang out clearly. There is a plausible case for military intervention if built on Hussein's ultimate aims and the specter of a broader war in the region; more on that later. But the reason articulated for U.S. military action was petroleum.

If so, the Persian Gulf crisis is largely self-induced. Given the Reagan and Bush administrations' contempt for a rational energy policy—e.g., conservation and efficiency—the rush to deploy tens of thousands of American armed forces is senseless.

Bush trumpeted the idea that we were defending friends against a ruthless invader. Perhaps true. But we aren't compelled to step into every such conflict, particularly to defend monarchies with wayward human rights records. No, oil is the reason.

Force before diplomacy. The U.S. diplomatic effort was geared to gather support for its military strategy rather than solving the crisis itself. Bush's emissaries to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, and elsewhere immediately pressed for joint military action. How much arm twisting was used? Did the immediate and large show of U.S. force merely stiffen Hussein's own position?

Portraying Hussein as one who only understands force, White House aides dismissively referred to the "Arab way" of settling disputes (by which they meant bribery) and gave this putative method a scant day or two to succeed. This disdain for Arab diplomacy—indeed, for *any* diplomacy aside from that serving military objectives—combined with pressure to join the West in a large-scale confrontation possibly misreads the situation and makes it worse. Hussein conceivably could have been persuaded by his Arab brothers to withdraw from Kuwait under favorable conditions.

The long-term implications. A multiyear U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf will be enormously costly. Estimates of the cost of the deployment range to $500 million a month. Domestically, such a commitment is certain to be divisive.

Heightened anti-Americanism in the region for years to come will surely be another result of the crisis. The record of Western exploitation of the region has been noted. The knee-jerk comparison of Hussein to Hitler and pervasive anti-Arab racism in the U.S. signal our homegrown attitudes. America's support of Israel, grossly unbalanced until the *intifada* shook U.S. neglect of Palestinian rights, is also a festering sore in U.S.-Arab relations that Hussein will exploit adeptly. Indeed, he may try to provoke a war with Israel to rally the Islamic world to his cause.

To Arabs, the U.S. intervention smacks of this insolent history. The forces deployed in the first two weeks were mainly American. And though the Arab summit in Cairo voted to defend Saudi Arabia with some troops, most of them Egyptian, the vote was tepid and perhaps reversible if a stalemate ensues.

Even if Iraq can be pried out of Kuwait without bloodshed, American actions will be regarded by much of the Arab world as another sorry chapter in a half-century of imperialism.

Misuse of the United Nations. The United States eagerly sought the economic sanctions voted by the Security Council, but beyond that the use of the U.N. has so far appeared to be superficial, perhaps even cynical. The vote to embargo Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil and to demand withdrawal from Kuwait was justified. But the United States soon exceeded that mandate through a unilateral military blockade, a move lamented by most of the Security Council, including Britain. More important, the potential role of the U.N.—such as providing the peacekeeping force to defend the Saudis—has been undermined by a decade of neglect of, even scorn for, the U.N. by Reagan and Bush.

The U.S. military's revival. Within days official dogma careened from complaints about not having enough firepower, to vows of

deploying up to 250,000 troops. This is sheer threat inflation, but it serves a grander purpose.

Deterring Iraq from attacking Saudi oil fields—which seemed secure within a week of the invasion—was done with a relatively modest show of U.S. air power and virtually no ground troops. After two weeks and nearly no possibility of Hussein attacking Saudi Arabia, the United States had deployed in the region only a small fraction of its overall armed forces: three carrier groups (out of fourteen in the navy) and a total of 30 ships (out of more than 500), plus a few thousand ground troops to protect something like seven air squadrons (out of more than 100). That amount, perhaps even less, was enough to deter or to provide a trip wire for a large retaliation.

Talk of hundreds of thousands of troops was surely calculated to bolster the Pentagon's flagging case for its immense size (2.1 million in uniform, $300 billion annual budget) in the aftermath of the Cold War. "The tragedy of this," Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) said some ten days after the crisis began, "is that some will use the crisis to insist that we need an MX missile and a B-2 bomber and SDI." Such cases are already being put forth.

We will now be forced to cope with this newly animated Pentagon for years to come: cutting military spending sharply while troops are "defending freedom" in the hot sands of Arabia will be more difficult than ever. But the plain fact is that the forces sent there comprise a tiny portion of U.S. military power.

© REUTERS/BETTMANN

ARAB DIPLOMACY WAS QUICKLY DISMISSED BY THE UNITED STATES; ABOVE, EGYPT'S PRESIDENT MUBARAK WITH KUWAITI RULER SHEIKH JABER AL-AHMED AL-SABAH.

More worrisome, of course, is that large-scale U.S. intervention has been revived as a politically acceptable option. Apart from the shaky merits of this case, other temptations for intervention will surely arise. War nourishes the presidency, and the instant (though possibly temporary) popularity of the action may prompt others.

Even with these caveats regarding the U.S. role in the Gulf, a troubling question for peace activists remains: What should be done with a ruthless, militaristic aggressor like Saddam Hussein? Lamenting past mistakes does not gainfully deal with the current crisis.

A persuasive case in favor of some U.S. military action can be made. Hussein hopes to unite the Arab world under his anti-Zionist banner. If he were to succeed even partially, the result would menace the region relentlessly. With the added oil wealth of Kuwait and others, Hussein's military designs would gain immeasurably. The ultimate goal, as he has stated, would be a war with Israel, which may be his only chance to unite the Arab world he has so deeply split. And such a war would very likely set off nuclear and chemical weapons, perhaps in large numbers. With added involvement by the United States, a major conflagration is quite feasible.

Thus, the argument goes, stop Hussein now with a little pain or face him later in a catastrophic confrontation.

There is enough truth to this argument to upset our cozy beliefs about nonintervention and sizing down the U.S. military to be a defender of America alone. In the coming months we must explain how Hussein could be contained without the gaudy display of U.S. military might amassed in the Middle East. We face a long period of U.S. military presence in the Gulf, which should be resisted. We also need to rethink our overall efforts on behalf of peace if indeed the Gulf crisis is the prototype of post-Cold War conflict.

Some of the lessons are obvious. Attention to arms transfers by the peace movement has been practically nonexistent. We have given lip service to the potential role of the U.N., but few of us made peacekeeping a priority. The link between resources and security has been made time and again by this community, but now its full impact is felt; we should seize the opportunity to demand strict conservation and investment in renewables while holding the line against a mindless rush toward nuclear energy.

Perhaps most gravely, we have ignored the Arab world in our analysis, our citizen diplomacy, and our constituency building. This has occurred not because of the deep ambivalence over Israel, but because our attention has been devoted to the East-West conflict, Central America, and South Africa. The Persian Gulf states were remote from our concerns in the 1980s. But in the early 1960s, Vietnam was also far away.

Military interventions since Vietnam have been indirect or brief. Arms trade and bluster substituted for Marine landings, with the exceptions—Panama, Grenada, Lebanon—too transitory to arouse meaningful dissent. But "Operation Desert Shield" promises to be many months in duration, with an uncertain outcome and highly dubious goals shadowing that period. Whatever Iraq does, whether war breaks out or not, Vietnam-scale intervention is no longer merely plausible, but a fact.

With each passing day, the arduous—perhaps unpopular—tasks of peace activism become clearer. If our work toward viable concepts of common security and nonintervention have meaning, we will have to adapt and apply them courageously to the astounding new world Saddam Hussein has so abruptly ushered in.

—John Tirman

NUCLEAR NAVY CHALLENGED

Greenpeace's Nuclear Free Seas campaign is receiving a burst of support as increased budgetary and environmental concerns have both local activists and federal officials targeting the navy for major cuts. "Our big success is the delay of funding for the B-90 nuclear depth strike bomb for one year. It is very probable that it will be cut next year," says Brian Hinman, director of the Nuclear Free Seas campaign. Combined with budget-driven cuts in the navy, this amounts to a potentially significant reduction in the navy's nuclear arsenal.

U.S.-Soviet efforts to reduce the number of naval vessels carrying nuclear weapons have been tepid. A declaration to limit sea-launched cruise missiles was signed by the two nations, but it will not be subject to verification and will have little effect on the number of weapons carried aboard vessels in the 1990s.

Three Soviet ships that visited San Diego in August were welcomed by Greenpeace and other local activists who were demonstrating in support of naval nuclear disarmament. It was an opportune moment: warming U.S.-Soviet relations prompted a meeting between U.S. Commander of the Pacific Fleet Admiral Charles R. Larson and his Soviet counterpart, Admiral Gennady Khvatov. In sharp contrast to U.S. policy neither to confirm nor deny the presence of nuclear weapons on its vessels, the Soviets guaranteed that they had no nuclear weapons aboard.

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BRITISH GREENPEACE ACTIVISTS OCCUPY THE MOORING OF HMS *INVINCIBLE* ON JUNE 13, 1990, TO PREVENT THE NUCLEAR-ARMED SHIP FROM BERTHING ON THE THAMES RIVER.

Although the activists received no official recognition, Hinman says they made their point loud and clear. Activists followed the Soviet itinerary, flying banners declaring,

CLIPS

National Impact reports that even as the Cold War thaws, the United States is the only nation still refusing to recognize the democratically elected government in Angola, supplying Jonas Savimbi's opposition, UNITA, with $10-15 million in military aid in June. Impact recommends lobbying your representatives for open debate on U.S. relations with Angola and an end to all aid to UNITA.... **Military aid to El Salvador:** Senators Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and Patrick Leahy (D-VT) introduced a bill that would withhold 50 percent of U.S. military aid to El Salvador, with a provision allowing the president to restore aid if certain political conditions are met. The **Dodd-Leahy bill** is similar to one already passed by the House, and will be tacked on to the fiscal year 1991 Foreign Aid Appropriations bill, which is scheduled for a vote in late September. Although the bill doesn't cover the conduct of the Salvadoran military, linked to death squads and the murders of six Jesuit priests last November, it may be the last chance to cut any military aid to the regime next year....A majority of the 70 representatives attending a preparatory meeting held May 29 to June 8 at the United Nations favored amending the **Partial Test Ban Treaty** at the **amendment conference** in January 1991 to include a comprehensive test ban of nuclear weapons. In explosive opposition to the test ban amendment, France conducted a nuclear test during the meeting and the United States held two tests, one before and one after the conference. The Soviets stopped testing last October, in response to citizen demands. The **U.S. CTB Coalition** is organizing a signature advertising campaign to convince President Bush to support the test ban. "If you could exert as much pressure on President Bush as the Kazakh people are putting on me, we would have a test ban," Soviet President Gorbachev told Bernard Lown, head of the **International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War**....Nuclear power is increasingly irrelevant to the global energy future, according to U.S. energy analyst Bill Keepin in ***Global Warming: The Greenpeace Report,*** released in August. The report shows that, despite industry assertions that nuclear power is the solution to the greenhouse effect, "even an infeasibly massive global nuclear power program could not reduce future emission of carbon dioxide."...Three members of the **Rowe Six,** who attempted to close the Yankee Rowe Nuclear Power Station in Massachusetts with a blockade in June 1989, were able to convince a jury that they were right in their actions against the station, and were found not guilty....Hampshire College is divesting its holdings in six corporations identified by student activists as among the nation's top military research and development firms. The trustees agreed to sell the college's investments in IBM, Amoco, TRW, Harris Inc., Chrysler, and Ford, after **People for a Socially Responsible University** reported the military investments to college administrators and threatened to occupy an administration building if the college failed to divest....A million peace cranes made by children from Washington State, the Soviet Union, and Japan opened the Goodwill Games in Seattle this July. According to Japanese legend, a person who folds a thousand cranes is granted one wish. The **Million Cranes Project** was a way for children around the world to wish for peace....The **Proposition One Committee** is organizing a state-by-state campaign to create a constitutional amendment requiring nuclear disarmament and economic conversion. It has created a model initiative petition to help activists get the issue on their state ballots, and has also created a model amendment for activists whose states have no provision for initiatives....A lawsuit alleging that the computerized nuclear hair-trigger poses an immediate danger of massive accidental launch is pending in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. Dr. Clifford Johnson, chair of the Palo Alto chapter of **Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility**, is suing the commander in chief and chain of command of the Strategic Air Command for the current launch status of Minuteman and MX missiles. The case was originally dismissed without fact finding by Federal District Judge Spencer Williams for "lack of subject matter jurisdiction."...The warming of East-West relations has decreased support for many organizations in the peace movement, and **Women Strike for Peace** is among the latest casualties. It will be closing its national office in Philadelphia, and its monthly news bulletin, *La Wisp,* will no longer be published. But a national coordinating committee will provide continuity and the legislative office in Washington, DC, will serve as a national WSP presence.

"Agenda for Today: 1. Naval Nuclear Disarmament; 2. Naval Nuclear Disarmament; 3. Naval Nuclear Disarmament," and passed out over 8,000 leaflets.

San Diego is one of the many cities fighting against the homeporting and docking of nuclear vessels in its harbor. San Diego does not currently have docks capable of handling nuclear carriers, but there are plans to expand them, Hinman says. Greenpeace has taken action to require the navy to make a new environmental impact study, which will slow down the process. But it will be a long, hard battle to stop the expansion, says Carol Jahnkow, west coast facilitator of the Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas. Over 29 percent of the U.S. Navy is currently based in San Diego, and "expansion is a hard issue to tackle when the navy is so integrated in the local economy," Jahnkow says.

The Strategic Homeporting Program provided for the expansion or construction of over a dozen navy bases on all three coasts. Recent cuts in the goal for the total number of navy vessels from 600 to 488 have undermined the rationale for the program. Many communities, however, still support homeports for the predicted economic benefits a homeport could bring. But Mobilization for Survival has been working against navy homeport proposals in targeted communities, helping local groups to build the support necessary to defeat these plans.

New York City Mayor David Dinkins has come out strongly against the proposed Staten Island homeport, despite the federal money and jobs it would bring into the city. "If I am breaking some unwritten rule of defense budgeting by speaking out against federal spending in my own city, then it's a rule I not only want to break but a rule we must all reject," he told the House Armed Services Committee last April.

Temporary stops by nuclear-armed vessels are also being targeted. When the British aircraft carrier *Ark Royal* arrived in New York in May, demonstrators from Greenpeace and the Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Harbor presented it with a six-foot replica of a New York City parking ticket. The ship then sailed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where activists painted radiation symbols on its hull and later chained themselves to pillars in the British Embassy to protest the visit. In Boston, the *Ark Royal* was met by activists dressed as American patriots who carried a "Declaration of Independence from Nuclear Weapons." In 1988, the *Ark Royal* was prevented from docking in Melbourne, Australia, by Greenpeace activists, and in Malta by dock workers protesting its nuclear weapons.

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A REGIMENT IN COLONIAL UNIFORM INSPECTS THE *ARK ROYAL*, SUSPECTED OF CARRYING NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

In one of their more dramatic protests, the *M/V Greenpeace* sustained damages after being rammed by navy ships in a December 1989 protest of the testing of a Trident II missile. Greenpeace is seeking compensation from the navy for the damages, on the basis that the test, held off the coast of Florida, was in international waters. Therefore, Hinman says, the navy had no right to exclude any vessels from the area.

—*Shawna Moos*

DOWNSIZING SANE/FREEZE

Following a general trend in the peace community, the national staff of SANE/FREEZE: Campaign for Global Security has been cut from 24 to 16 and has lost its executive director.

Nick Carter resigned in June and left the organization August 31 after an 18-month tenure in which he did much to rebuild the financially beleaguered group. A Baptist minister who will return to his native Massachusetts, Carter cited exhaustion as a key reason for his unexpected departure. His resignation follows on the heels of the exit of William Sloane Coffin, the organization's president, who is also a Protestant cleric and wanted to return to spiritual pursuits.

Buffeted by the merger that brought SANE and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign together beginning in 1986, SANE/FREEZE has suffered from the "peace breaking out" perception that is shaking the entire community. Although few groups at the national level are actually folding, organizers report lessened interest in the issues and lower fundraising.

"I believe we're leaner but stronger," says interim director Monica Green, who came from Cleveland SANE/FREEZE last year to run the field program in the national office. "The financial situation is tight but stable, and it will remain that way to the end of the year. We made the decision in June to downsize the organization, but no program people were affected."

Since taking the position in December 1988, Carter retired a large debt, moved the affiliation process along, and developed programs on military spending and nuclear weapons plants. SANE/FREEZE has also participated in the Alliance for Our Common Future and the U.S. CTB Coalition, among other activities. It now has roughly 250 affiliated local groups nationwide and a membership of 130,000.

"The Iraq situation shows the fickleness of the public and the press," Green says. "The perception of a need for peace organizations has shifted dramatically since August 2nd. It shows that we need to maintain stability and be ready to act when such situations arise."

NFZs LOSE GROUND

The nuclear-free zone (NFZ) campaign has been encountering stiff opposition in recent months from both the federal government and nuclear industries, proving that strong local action is beginning to strike raw nerves, according to Nuclear Free America executive director Chuck Johnson.

Federal preemption of local authority is now the greatest danger facing the NFZ movement, says public interest attorney Robert Hager. He drafted an ordinance for Parks Township, Pennsylvania, that blocked plans by Babcock and Wilcox to build the first radioactive waste incinerator. The ordinance was based on an amendment to the Clean Air Act that allowed local communities to establish stricter emission standards than the act provides for. Babcock and Wilcox sued, but withdrew the case just before a decision was reached. The judge allowed the withdrawal without requiring Babcock and Wilcox to pay the township's legal fees on the condition that they comply with the ordinance.

While Hager admits this is a weak precedent, the nuclear industry is taking it very seriously. Activists should watch for a push by the industry for federal preemption of local regulation, most likely in a proposed amendment to the Clean Air Act. Meanwhile, Nuclear Free America is compiling an information kit to help activists create ordinances based on the Clean Air Act, tailored to their local communities.

FREE ZONE/MARY BETH BRAUN, DAVID L. BROWN, JAMES HEDDLE

Another threat to local power is the Energy Department's consideration of a Nuclear Regulatory Commission policy to reclassify certain low-level radioactive wastes as below regulatory concern (BRC). This policy largely grows out of concern for the cost of disposing of large quantities of low-level waste generated at nuclear plants. The waste—such as contaminated clothing—could be sent to municipal garbage facilities with no special treatment. With large amounts of low-level radwaste at thousands of sites, abuses would be difficult to detect.

In anticipation of the enactment of this policy, Maine has passed legislation prohibiting the deregulation of low-level radwaste within its borders. About four dozen communities have passed resolutions opposing the BRC policy, and Hager is helping various communities draft ordinances prohibiting the disposal of radioactive wastes in their facilities.

One of the toughest nuclear-free zone laws in the country is also under attack. In April, most of Oakland, California's NFZ law was overturned in a summary judgment by U.S. District Judge John Vukasin. The Oakland law, approved by 57 percent of city voters, prohibits anyone—defined explicitly to include the federal government—from engaging in nuclear weapons work within the city limits. It also restricts the transportation of nuclear materials through Oakland and prohibits the city from investing in or doing business with nuclear weapons contractors.

Judge Vukasin, a Reagan appointee, concurred with the Bush administration's argument that the local ordinance interferes with the federal government's constitutional authority to establish policies in the defense of the nation. The Oakland City Council has decided to appeal the decision and will likely get the investment and purchasing clause approved, Johnson says. The appeal has been delayed by the unusual length of time it is taking Vukasin to return a written judgment.

The Oakland case has forced NFZ proponents to sharpen their act. In the future, NFZ initiatives will have

NEWS TO USE

Teams of speakers will join Mobilization for Survival in a national speaking tour, **After the Cold War: Voices for Demilitarization**, from October 10 to 24. The teams will include speakers from either the Soviet Union, East Germany or Poland, Japan, a U.S. activist, and one from the third world. Contact Mobe for a tour schedule.... The **Pollution Prevention Action Plan** is now available for grassroots environmental activists. The plan was developed by the National Toxics Campaign, Greenpeace, Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste, U.S. Public Interest Research Groups, and Clean Water Action to help coordinate the campaign against toxics. It lays out a blueprint and timetable for action to unite the grassroots toxics movement and to negotiate directly with corporate decision makers and municipal officials.... **The War Resisters League** has released a map of over 1,000 U.S. domestic military bases, including a base-by-base listing, giving the location and a description of activities at each site.... The 22 **Glasnost Film Festival** films are now available in video from the Video Project. The Soviet documentaries were all produced or released in the first years of *glasnost* and were chosen to represent a variety of Soviet concerns and film styles.... **The World Information Clearing Centre** now offers an international computer network to disperse "humanized" information about peace, disarmament, development, the environment, and human rights. It links scientific institutions with nongovernmental organizations and facilitates computerized and technical assistance for NGOs.... Several resources for U.S.-Soviet exchange participants are available from **World Without War Council**, including a database of Soviet citizens who are involved with informal organizations in the Soviet Union and would like to meet with foreigners.... **Volunteers for Peace** is organizing international workcamps in 33 countries, focusing on Eastern Europe. Young people from both capitalist and socialist countries work together at these camps to tackle environmental and social problems.

to be more carefully worded. Johnson believes that initiatives should focus on public health, safety, and economic arguments, in which local governments have the greatest authority. If an initiative "makes a statement about national foreign policy, then it's on less firm ground," says Johnson.

Last March, a campaign by the Aerospace Industries Association (AIA), a trade group, to pressure federal officials to crackdown on local NFZ initiatives was uncovered. Nuclear Free America revealed AIA documents, representing forty of the largest nuclear weapons manufacturers, that described meetings with top federal officials, including Deputy Defense Secretary Donald Atwood. The Department of Defense has refused Rep. Ron Dellums's (D-CA) request for information regarding the content of the meetings. NFZ advocates have asked for meetings with the same federal officials, but have received no response to date. "What they're doing is antidemocratic," Johnson says. "The federal government and the nuclear industries are working together to thwart local democratic decision making."

Meanwhile, nuclear industries are escalating the campaign to stop new NFZ initiatives from passing. In June, more than $600,000 was spent to defeat a single NFZ initiative in Alameda County, California, most of it coming from large corporations such as General Electric, AT&T, Hewlett-Packard, Hughes Aircraft, IBM, and Rockwell International. Alameda County includes three nuclear-free cities and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, one of two labs where nuclear weapons are designed. "Our impact can no longer be ignored," Johnson says. "Major companies don't spend millions of dollars to fight something that's just symbolic."

It's clear that NFZ proponents are going to be outspent in upcoming campaigns. Growing public concern about health and environmental risks, however, evens the odds. "Communities just won't accept the environmental hazards for the economic benefits," Johnson says.

—Shawna Moos

VICTIMS OF NATIONAL SECURITY

For more than forty years, the U.S. government has kept secret its high-level radiation emissions during the race to create nuclear weapons. A study funded by the Energy Department and released in July confirmed that neighbors of the Hanford Nuclear Reservation were exposed to dangerous levels of radioactive iodine 131. More than 400,000 curies of radioactive iodine were released into the air at the Hanford plutonium production plant between 1944 and 1947—over 26,000 times the amount released during the accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant in 1979. Officials at the Hanford plant secretly authorized these emissions, exposing over 270,000 people to the highest reported doses of radiation released from a U.S. nuclear weapons facility. Further discharges were made into the Columbia River between 1964 and 1966, dumping millions of curies of radioactive particles into the region's main source of drinking water, contaminating fishing and recreational areas.

About 13,700 people received doses of 33 rads, according to the study, with many others receiving estimated exposures of 600 or more rads—comparable to emissions from the Chernobyl nuclear accident. The highest risks were to over 1,200 infants living near the site, who may have been exposed to up to 2,900 rads. They drank most of the iodine 131-tainted milk and were the most susceptible to thyroid damage.

Independent analysts admitted that exposures were high enough to cause cancer and other illnesses, and DOE Secretary James Watkins termed the exposures "serious." A separate study, sponsored by the Centers for Disease Control, is currently analyzing thyroid disease among the residents exposed during the Hanford radiation releases. "We have been poisoned in the name of national security," says Janet Miller, director of the Keep Them Shut Campaign at Washington State SANE/FREEZE.

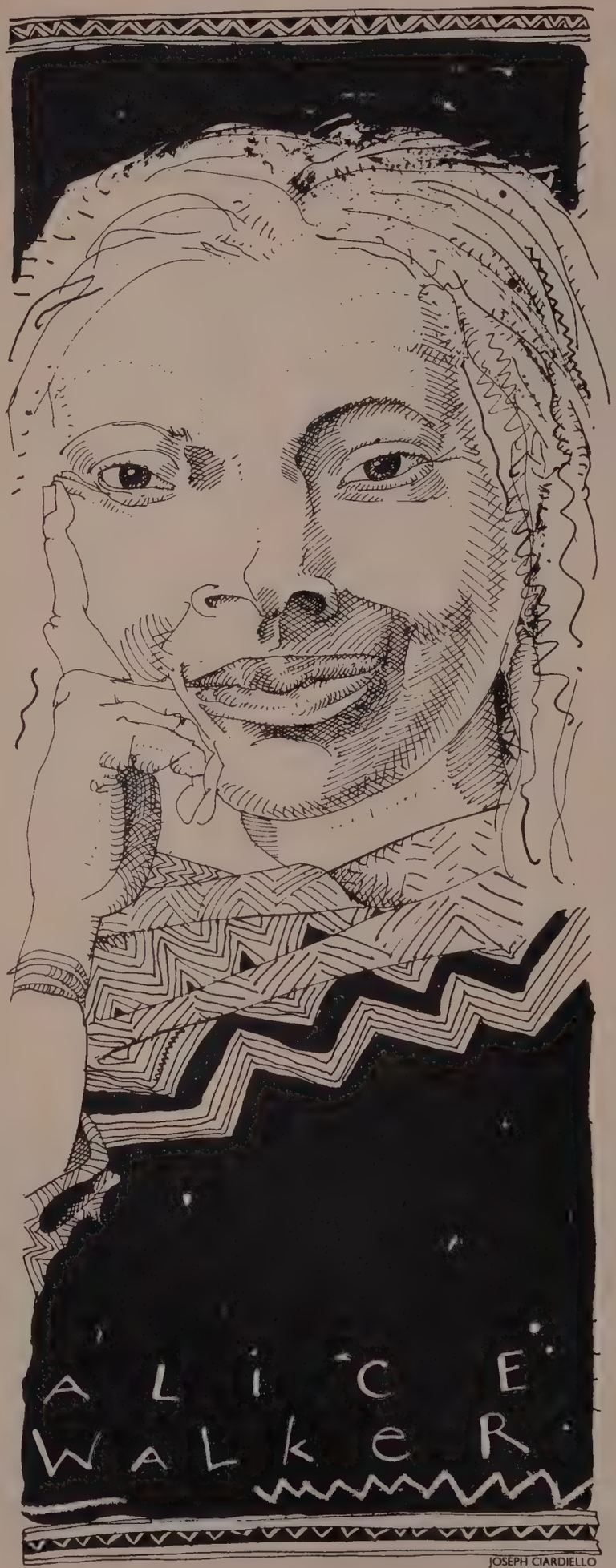
Thomas Cochran, a scientist at the Natural Resources Defense Council, says that the probability of thyroid abnormalities is 80 to 90 percent, with a 10 to 30 percent chance of thyroid cancer, for those exposed to 2,900 rads. The current level of airborne radiation exposure considered "safe" by the federal government is 0.025 rad per year. "The fact they've been hiding the data for two-and-a-half decades is inexcusable, it's criminal," says Cochran.

And what about radiation releases at the other sixteen nuclear weapons facilities across the country? DOE reports are less forthcoming. But according to testimony prepared by Tim Connor of the Energy Research Foundation, over 479,000 curies of tritium were released in 1988 at the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina. Connor's group is part of the Military Production Network (MPN), more than forty organizations representing citizens living near nuclear weapons production plants.

In late July, MPN representatives charged Secretary Watkins with dragging his feet in scheduling public evaluation of nuclear weapons sites. But by the end of August, a few local DOE offices were making plans to start hearings in late September. The network charges Watkins with promoting plans to rebuild existing DOE facilities and open new weapons production sites before going through the review process. To implement "Complex 21," as Watkins terms his new nuclear theme parks, DOE plans to restart the Savannah River Plant beginning this December.

Adding to these insults and injuries, Watkins says we're going to have to pay twice as much to clean up the existing weapons complex mess. In July, the Energy Department raised its estimate of cleanup costs at the DOE sites from $19.5 billion to $28.6 billion for fiscal years 1991 through 1995.

—Leslie Fraser



JOSEPH CIARDIELLO

'My activism pays the rent on being here on the planet.'

—Alice Walker in The Progressive

'I can't think of a time in my adult life when there has been such a clear prospect of a substantive, fundamental shift away from the Cold War. That puts a particular challenge on the American people to keep the pressure on George Bush. We can end the arms race.'

—Daniel Ellsberg in The Progressive

'It's been really important to me to be a good activist and a good thinker, a good musician, a good singer, and a good entertainer. You can't do it all, but I have walked those delicate lines as best I know how."

—Holly Near in The Progressive

'The Salvadoran elections were not clean, were not fair, were not free. They were part of a counterinsurgency project. In El Salvador, repression starts the day after the elections.'

—Ruben Zamora in The Progressive

'I'm a person who is very badly scared. Almost all manufactured goods are causing pollution, and we're destroying rural America. But scattered all over are people who are doing good work, who are trying to find the better ways.'

—Wendell Berry in The Progressive

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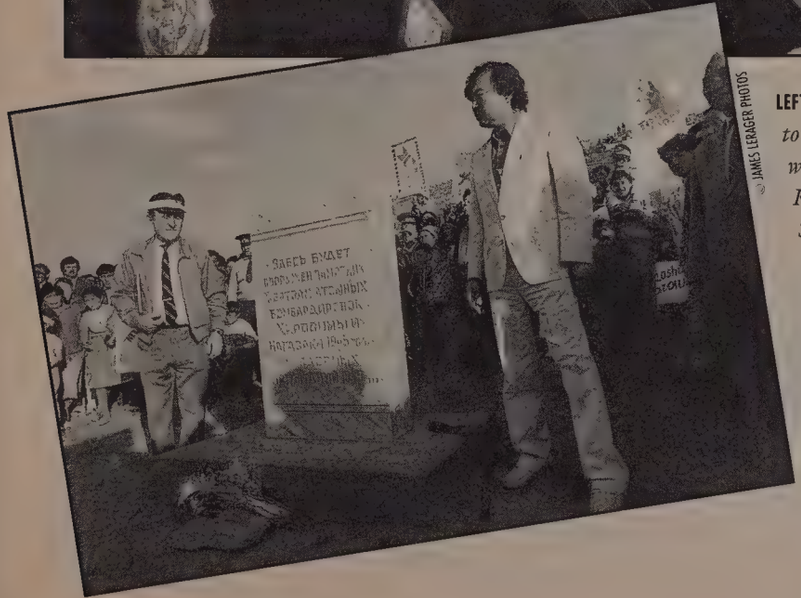
Kazakhs Stop Soviet Testing

Report and photos by James Lerager

On May 26, 1990, Olzhas Suleimenov, deputy to the newly elected Congress of People's Deputies, unveiled a memorial on the slopes of Mt. Karaul, overlooking the steppes of Kazakhstan and the nuclear test site in Soviet Central Asia. The monument is dedicated to the people of Kazakhstan and those all over the world who have



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LEFT: *Unveiling of monument to victims of Soviet nuclear weapons testing in Karaul, Kazakhstan. (Olzhas Suleimenov, NSM, right; Dr. Bernard Lown, IPPNW, left)*

ABOVE: *Ulugbek Bairekov, a Kazakh village elder from an area near the Polygon, bearing witness to the effects of nuclear testing on his village.*

been sacrificed for the nuclear ambitions of their military and civilian leaders.

Thousands of Kazakh people, some 300 representatives from all over the Soviet Union, and an additional 300 international guests witnessed the unveiling, concluding the International Citizens' Congress for a Nuclear Test Ban. This historic event was sponsored by the Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement and the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, as a worldwide call to end nuclear weapons testing.

Soviet exposure to nuclear testing spans four decades. Since 1949, over 600 nuclear devices have been detonated in the Soviet Union. An estimated 190 nuclear explosions were conducted in the atmosphere between 1949 and 1962. Since 1963, 490 more detonations are known to have been conducted underground. The vast majority of all Soviet nuclear testing has been conducted at the Semipalatinsk Polygon.

Semipalatinsk is a city of 320,000 in eastern Kazakhstan, about 2,000 miles southeast of Moscow, near the Chinese border. An estimated 2.5 million people lived in the area surrounding the test site at the time that nuclear testing began. Towns and farming villages border the site, and nomadic Kazakhs continue to roam the area with their herds of sheep.

In the days before *glasnost, perestroika*, and the Chernobyl nuclear accident, no accurate information about the Polygon was available to local people. The entire area was under military restrictions. Many Kazakhs, however, knew about the atmospheric nuclear explosions at the Polygon in the 1950s and early 1960s, and some had seen the mushroom clouds on the horizon, which were often clearly visible from Semipalatinsk.

Stories circulated throughout Kazakhstan about harm caused by radiation from the Polygon tests to people and animals near the site. Especially obvious to the herders were the illnesses of sheep that grazed near the Polygon. Soviet officials, however, claimed that the explosions shaking their homes were both safe and necessary for the defense and security of the country.

When nuclear testing was moved underground, following the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty in 1963, concerns began to subside. Workers at the Polygon drilled mine shafts into the ground, hills, and mountains on the test site, which allowed Soviet nuclear scientists to detonate more than 400 additional underground nuclear devices. Although earthquake-like tremors regularly shook eastern Kazakhstan, ghoulish mushroom clouds no longer appeared on the horizon.

TOP: *Traditional Kazakh herders with flock of sheep. The Polygon, the Soviet nuclear test site, is situated in a traditional herding and agricultural area of eastern Kazkhstan.*
ABOVE: *Kazakhs demonstrating for an end to nuclear testing in May 1990.*

Founding the Movement

In February 1989, Olzhas Suleimenov, a popular Kazakh poet and writer,

campaigned for election to the Congress of People's Deputies of the Supreme Soviet, the national parliament, in the first democratic national elections in the Soviet Union's history. A reformer within the Communist Party, Suleimenov championed democratic decision making, informed public consent, and environmental responsibility. He was aware that the Republic of Kazakhstan contains within its borders some of the most profound environmental problems in the Soviet Union, from the dying Aral Sea to widespread industrial pollution.

On February 19, 1989, while preparing for his first televised campaign speech, Suleimenov received a telephone call informing him of underground nuclear explosions conducted at the Polygon a few days earlier. The caller disclosed that the detonations had split the earth, releasing dangerous amounts of radioactive materials into the atmosphere.

The telephone call changed the nature of Suleimenov's candidacy and the direction of political debate in Kazakhstan. "I was planning to speak about my electoral program and platform," Suleimenov recalls. "I put my speech away and told the people about what I had found out. A specialist told me these kinds of ventings are a common thing, and that contamination of the environment occurs with regularity after underground tests.

"It was a revelation to me to learn the underground tests can be dangerous to people's health," Suleimenov continues. "Underground testing has been carried out in Kazakhstan for 27 years, even after the end of atmospheric testing. I decided to do my best to stop all testing, to shut down the test site. And in my television interview I called upon the people to gather for a meeting."

Over 5,000 people attended that meeting on February 28. The Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement (NSM), was founded that day with a call to end nuclear testing not only in Kazakhstan, but all over the world. The movement was named for the state of Nevada, where the principal U.S. nuclear test ground is sited, and the Semipalatinsk Polygon.

Meetings and demonstrations were held throughout Kazakhstan. Since its founding, NSM representatives have had face-to-face meetings with an estimated eight million Kazakhs, half the population of the republic, and have traveled all over the Soviet Union. Demonstrations in support of the NSM and its goal of ending all Soviet nuclear testing have been held in many cities, including Moscow.

On August 1, 1989, the Supreme Soviet, with over 2,000 delegates, unanimously adopted a proposal authored by Suleimenov calling for a stop to all nuclear testing by both the United States and the Soviet Union. They sent the proposal to the U.S.

If Andrei Sakharov, creator of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, is correct, over six million people worldwide have already become the fatal victims of cancers caused by radiation from atmospheric nuclear weapons

Olzhas Suleimenov, deputy to the Congress of People's Deputies and leader of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement.

Congress, which has not yet responded.

Suleimenov has met with Gorbachev, urging a unilateral end to nuclear testing and weapons modernization, and public accountability for military and nuclear decision makers. Today the NSM is associated with 100 peace, prodemocracy, and environmental organizations throughout the Soviet Union, and has received over one million letters of support and millions of rubles in private donations.

Voices from Kazakhstan

The cornerstone of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement's activities has been to search out and communicate the history and ongoing legacy of the nuclear age, with an initial focus on the Soviet Union. Since government records and official research are still sealed from public view, the NSM is researching the nuclear history of Kazakhstan itself. The organization also plans to fund independent medical research on radiation effects.

Since that February 28 meeting, thousands of Polygon-area residents have written to Suleimenov and the newly formed NSM, telling of family members who died prematurely and were afflicted with cancers, neurological problems, reproductive disabilities, birth defects, psychological depression, and suicide, especially among young adults.

One of the most dramatic stories concerns the village of Seryzhal, on the edge of the Polygon. In 1951, Soviet military personnel entered the village. Each of the 1,500 villagers was given 25 rubles, and most were evacuated. But forty young men and women were ordered to stay. The next morning, a great explosion shook the village, cracking walls and shattering windows. When the remaining villagers went outside, they discovered that many of the dogs and livestock were injured or burned.

The next day, soldiers wearing respirators returned. They took blood samples from the forty who remained. Five days after the detonation, the other villagers were allowed to return home. Today, only five of those forty are still alive, the others having died from stomach, thyroid, throat, and other cancers.

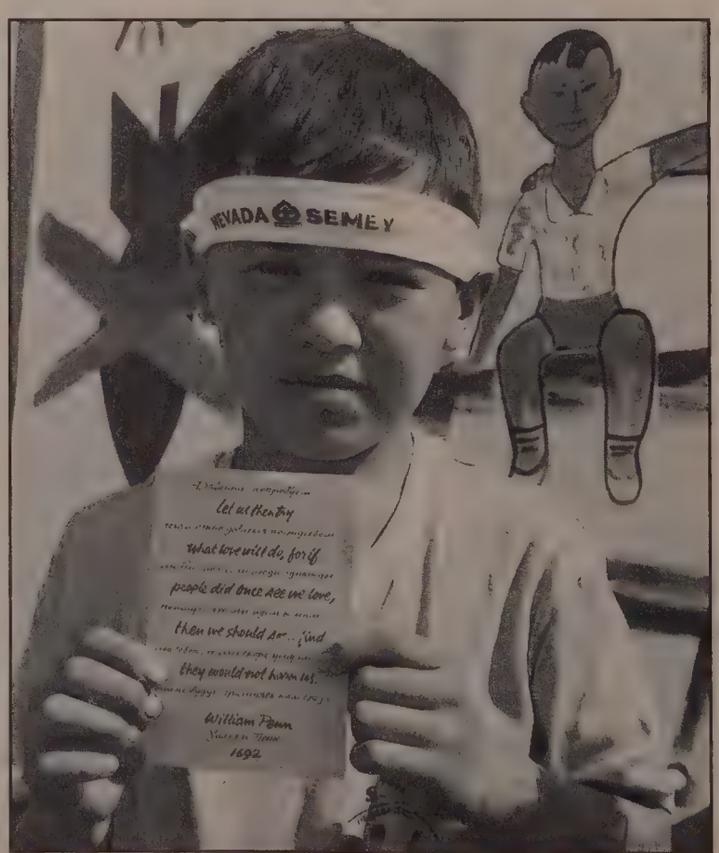
Periodically throughout the 1950s, medical personnel from Hospital Number Four in Semipalatinsk visited Seryzhal, taking blood samples and conducting physical examinations. The villagers were never told the results of this research. Over the years, personnel from Hospital Number Four have been reported in many other villages. The hospital is believed to have been established to study the effects of radiation on populations surrounding the Polygon.

Dr. Maira Zhangelova is a professor of medicine at the Semipalatinsk Medical School, and like Suleimenov, a newly elected delegate to the Congress of People's Deputies. Although she is a noted researcher, Zhangelova has been refused access to Hospital Number Four's medical documentation on the Semipalatinsk region. Members of her own family have suffered from cancers and other illnesses that she believes have been induced by radiation exposures.

Dr. Zhangelova and other medical practitioners, in conjunction with the NSM, are now trying to set up independent scientific studies of the people living near the test site. The results of the first recently completed study indicate that children whose parents lived in the Semipalatinsk region in the 1950s are likely to have six times the number of chromosomal abnormalities as children whose parents came from outside the region. Zhangelova believes that changes in blood structure and lowered immune system activity are common, and that anemia and cancer are epidemic in the region.

Dr. Valintine Shelikhov is another physician from the region, born in Semipalatinsk in 1947. As a child, he vividly remembers seeing the rising mushroom clouds from detonations at the Polygon. Today, Dr. Shelikhov works with children and has seen a high rate of birth defects in the Semipalatinsk area. He believes the primary cause is radiation exposure.

Madina Zhakupova, a university student from Semipalatinsk, is typical of many young Kazakhs. She suffers from chronic systemic illnesses, but hopes that her health problems are not related to radiation exposure. However, an aunt died from leukemia, several friends have committed suicide, and two close friends have given birth to badly deformed children. One of those children was born without a face. Zhakupova would like to have children, but like many of her contemporaries, she too is afraid.



Artikbaiv Asylkhan is a biologist and president of the Kazakhstan Nature Protection Committee. He has found elevated concentrations of radioactive cesium in the muscles and organs of the saiga antelope, an endangered species whose primary range is in Kazakhstan. He reports that the byrkhat, a large black eagle native to the region, is also disappearing.

Kazakhstan's persistent radiological problems may not be restricted to its people and environment. In addition to the wind and water spreading radiation across its borders, the republic exports meat and agri-

LEFT: *Nurzada and Konis Kupenshev, with their four-year-old son Bolat. Konis is from Semipalatinsk; his wife is from a village nearby. Their son has no muscle control, cannot move his arms or legs, and cannot sit, stand, or walk.*

BELOW: *Madina Zhakupova, a university student from Semipalatinsk. There have been early cancer deaths in her family and birth defects among the children of friends. She suffers health problems herself and worries about having children.*

cultural products throughout the Soviet Union.

Following the Chernobyl nuclear accident in 1986, officials in Moscow began monitoring food coming into the capital for radiological contamination. Although Kazakhstan was not in the fallout path from Chernobyl, many Kazakh food shipments were rejected as too radioactive for human consumption. Most likely, radiological contamination of food from Kazakhstan has been caused by nuclear weapons testing, a long-term but officially unrecognized problem.

The End of Soviet Testing?

The Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement may have already achieved its first major goal, the end of all Soviet nuclear testing in Kazakhstan. Major antinuclear demonstrations were held throughout the republic in 1989. Late last year, the Soviet government announced that the Semipalatinsk Polygon would be closed in 1993, and all nuclear testing would then be transferred to Novaya Zemlya, an island in the Arctic Ocean.

On October 20, 1989, the coal miners of Kazakhstan voted to join with the NSM and shut down the mines if any nuclear detonations were held. Kazakhstan coal is critical to the functioning of the already crippled Soviet economy. Eleven planned nuclear tests have been canceled since the miners' vote, and the Polygon has been quiet.

The president of Kazakhstan and the mayors of many cities and towns throughout the republic have officially declared their support for the Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement. In late May 1990, the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet passed a bill calling for the immediate and permanent closing of the Polygon.

Meanwhile, ties with representatives from areas surrounding Novaya Zemlya have been forged. Local residents are contesting construction at the Arctic test site. With the NSM's environmental and political alliances with organizations all over the country, it may prove politically impossible to open a new nuclear test site anywhere in the Soviet Union.

Andrei Sakharov, creator of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, estimated that for every megaton of nuclear weapons energy exploded in the atmosphere and spread worldwide by wind and rain, 10,000 people would die prematurely of cancers they would not otherwise have developed. If he is correct, over six million people worldwide have already become the fatal victims of cancers caused by radiation from atmospheric nuclear weapons testing alone. Members of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk movement would like to convert the entire Polygon area into an international memorial for the millions of unnamed and unknown victims of the nuclear age.

James Lerager, an independent photographer and writer, is the author of In the Shadow of the Cloud: Photographs and Histories of America's Atomic Veterans *(Fulcrum Press, 1988). He traveled to Kazakhstan in May 1990 to document the Nevada- Semipalatinsk movement.*

Rethinking Deterrence

The Decline of the Cold War and the Future of Nuclear Weapons

BY JOHN TIRMAN

Nothing more sharply defined the Cold War era than nuclear weapons and the fitful attempts to contain their growth. With the demise of the U.S.-Soviet confrontation, this unique feature is likely to change. But there is nothing preordained about how the new detente, the collapse of communism, or the relative decline of both nations will affect the theory and practice of nuclear deterrence.

The impending Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) signals a new period of progress, as do the negotiations to reduce conventional forces in Europe. Soviet troops in Eastern Europe were a principal rationale for a sizable nuclear deterrent in the West, but significant cuts in Soviet forces are underway as new governments in Czechoslovakia and Hungary have requested their removal. The unification of Germany will hasten the Soviet departure.

These changes are nothing short of revolutionary in the political, social, and economic life of Central Europe and in the West's ties to those countries. But will nuclear doctrine follow suit? How is the Gorbachev phenomenon affecting the thinking of America's defense intelligentsia?

The Bush administration is clearly wedded to the status quo: supporting strategic modernization; the Star Wars program, which has a new, enthusiastic chief; and a new nuclear warfighting plan installed in October 1989 that a leading expert calls "wasteful and dangerous...as well as destabilizing." Arms control has new life, but the START accord offers only small cuts, while the administration resists naval arms control, a nuclear test ban, space arms restrictions, and other signs of genuine change.

Such rethinking would first appear among the defense intelligentsia that rings officialdom, those who provide advice through seminars, consultancies, journal articles, and the occasional outsider invited in as an adviser. Are these influential analysts, for decades so conditioned by the rigid military rivalry, envisaging a dramatically different post-Cold War world?

Signs of Change

At present, signs of a shift in U.S. strategic thinking are barely evident, and those appear to be budget driven. "Some 'establishment' thinkers have proposed major changes in forces," notes Stephen Van Evera, an MIT professor and former editor of the influential journal, *International Security*. "In particular, Lawrence Korb and William Kaufmann [both former Pentagon officials] have been willing to cut the budget by 50 percent over the next decade, very big cuts when compared with the administration's proposals. However, these are reductions commensurate with the level of threat, not necessarily a change in doctrine. Compared with thinkers in the Soviet Union—who now say there is no threat from the West, and who favor a dramatic shift to a more defensive military doctrine—a change in American doctrinal thinking is not perceptible."

In the next few months, strategic doctrine will be examined within the START debate. Questions such as how far can we cut and what kinds of capability should be maintained will be studied. To be sure, the START process symbolizes much that is troubling about nuclear policy. The treaty will cut warheads by 10 to 15 percent to about 12,000, the level existing in 1982 when START talks began. The accord is pale when compared with what seems possible. But the ratification debate and hopes for a START 2 negotiation will raise deeper concerns.

"START is a good treaty, representing reasonable progress," says Stanford University's Sidney Drell, one of the nation's leading physicists and a longtime defense consultant. "To go beyond the modest gains in START, however, we have to ask how to get down to really low numbers. We need a broad discussion on what the targeting requirements are for deterrence. That is

where the national debate should be."

Nuclear warfighting plans call for 10,000 targets to be covered in the Soviet Union, with an emphasis on "decapitating" Soviet leadership. Military officials oppose any treaty that would reduce warheads below 10,000. That means that a second START parlay cannot produce significant cuts if nuclear policy stands pat.

Defense intellectuals, says Drell, "are beginning to focus on targeting. Can we meet new targeting requirements with 6,000 or 3,000 warheads? Without a full review of what they are, we can't make significant cuts. Change the requirements, then total warheads can come down."

A larger question lurks behind the targeting matter, however. "What has driven both sides to larger arsenals has been the 'need' to cover the other side's forces, resulting in an endless, mutual expansion," explains Van Evera. "With both sides believing in counterforce, arsenals had to grow. It's an 'impossible' doctrine, because its requirements can never be met."

Counterforce doctrine calls for nuclear strikes against nuclear forces, rather than civilian or industrial targets, in order to disable the adversary's military capability first. That requires very accurate weapons, such as the MX and Trident II missiles, and is bolstered by strategic defenses, such as SDI, which further compromise the adversary's offensive power.

"There's been no change in the war plan, strategic procurement plans, or in the thinking of strategists in the last year," Van Evera contends. "Advocates of counterforce have managed to fit the events of the last five years into their analysis. What caused Moscow to stand down? They cite U.S. modernization, a more offensive look in Europe, the maritime strategy, SDI, U.S. antisubmarine capability, and so on. They were bad, we put a knife to their throat, and they got tired. Why change?"

Counterforce was always hotly debated; critics charge it is unnecessary, provocative, and possibly catastrophic. During the Cold War, proponents argued that counterforce was needed for four reasons. First, to prevent the Soviet Union from carrying out its own war plan, which included destruction of U.S. cities. Second, to deter Soviets by threatening things they cared about (i.e., Communist Party leaders). Third, to bankrupt the USSR with an arms race. And fourth, to provide "extended deterrence" to Europe.

The demise of the Cold War undermines those arguments. The first—the need to preempt a Soviet nuclear attack—was built on an unprovable faith in first-strike capability and equivocation about U.S. intentions. The other three are vitiated by the Gorbachev phenomenon, the new detente, and the near-total retreat of the USSR from Eastern Europe. "None of these reasons for counterforce are operative now," says Van Evera, "yet strategists are not reexamining this."

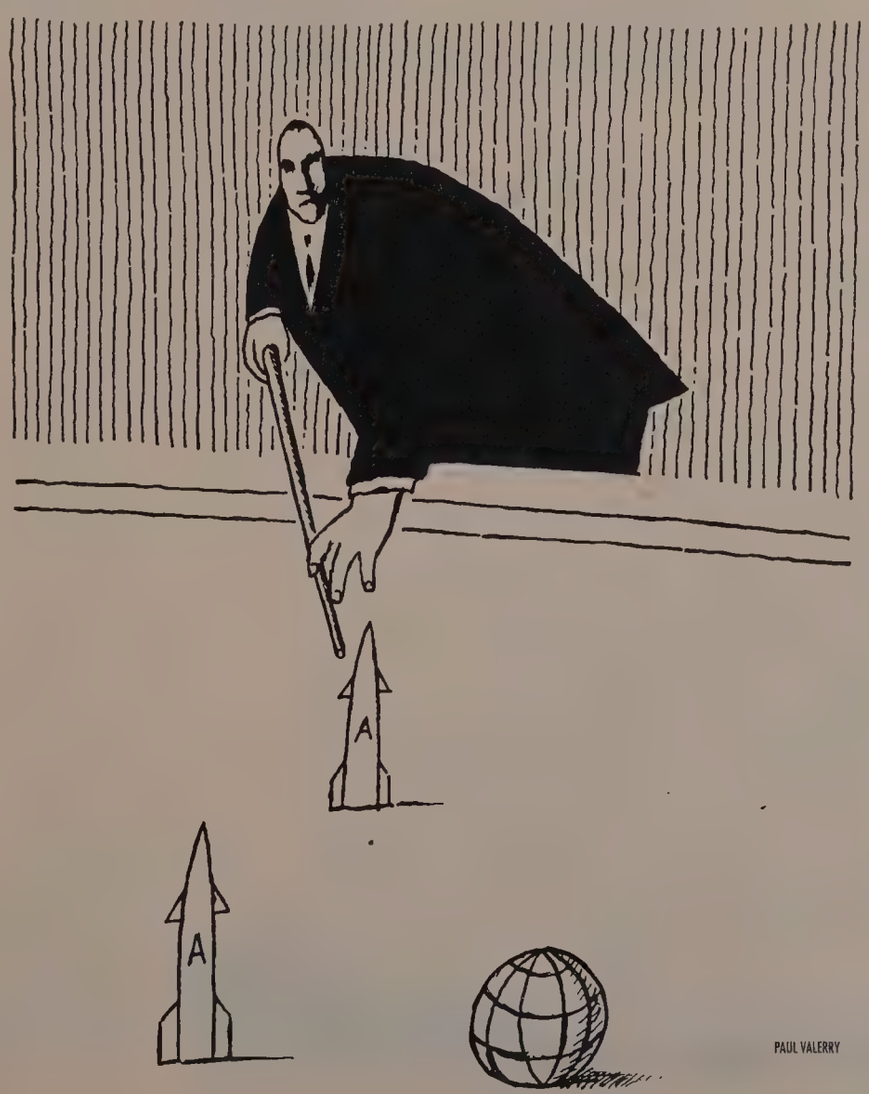
New Thinking in Embryo

Perhaps strategists are *just* beginning a reexamination. This summer, Michèle Flournoy, research fellow at the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, commenced a working group precisely to tackle this problem. Called "New Thinking on Nuclear Deterrence," the group is exploring U.S. doctrine in light of the transformation of Europe. "The 'new thinking' is embryonic," she says, "but growing very quickly. Some strategic analysts aren't moving, but others have taken the new circumstances as a cue to change their tune."

Among the areas of disagreement Flournoy sees emerging are whether the Gorbachev reform movement will endure (indeed, whether Gorbachev himself can last), and what the changes in the USSR mean for nuclear policy. "Those who focus on intentions see genuine change," Flournoy explains. "Those who focus on nuclear capability believe things perhaps have not changed."

The perception of deep reform in Moscow has not necessarily led to conversions from the theology of deterrence, but more to a growing consensus in favor of lower numbers of nuclear arms. "The lines of debate haven't altered much," Flournoy says, "but the range of numbers has narrowed considerably."

Flournoy, who is also preparing a "state of the art" paper for the International Foundation's post-START working group, regards



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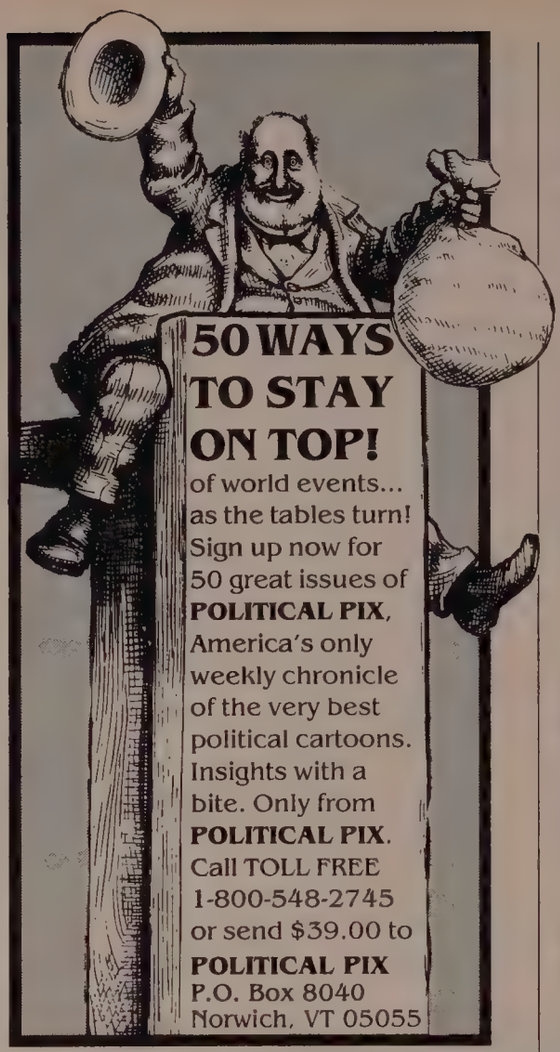
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one of the key questions of the coming months to be strategy itself. "Should we now design forces to deter nuclear weapons alone, or to deter conventional war or other weapons of mass destruction?" she asks. "What is the 'threat' that nuclear weapons are meant to deter?"

Without a significant Soviet presence in Europe, analysts may look elsewhere for potential threats. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August will stir a lengthy reassessment of the potential uses of military force in regional conflicts where incipient nuclear capability is worrisome.

Another such arena may be East Asia, where the United States has a sizable nuclear presence and growing worries about Japan, China, and Korea. "East Asia confuses people," says Selig Harrison, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a Washington, D.C.-based think tank. "Japan and China have an aura of mystery. Analysts are reluctant to apply the lessons of Europe to East Asia."

Harrison notes that the U.S. direction in the area is clear—and disappointing. "They want modest, incremental changes over the next ten years, which are budget-driven. Every indication is that the administration wants the same presence, and nuclear superiority, in East Asia in the future. The attitude is, 'we've got them on the ropes, why give up anything now?'" There is, in fact, a parallel to the situation in Central Europe, where U.S. troops might "keep an eye" on Germany; in East Asia, the watched ally is Japan. "The view is that we're a stabilizing force, that we should be the one superpower. But can we afford to be?" asks Harrison.

He raises a question that analysts should ask more often—the link between economics and security policy. In an article in *Foreign Policy*, Harrison and coauthor Clyde V. Prestowitz, Jr., president of the Economic Strategy Institute, point out how America's determination to encircle the Soviet Union militarily led to deals with East Asian allies that are now haunting us economically. "By drawing down the Soviet-American military confrontation," they write, "the United States could escape from its fixation with the

communist specter and begin to focus on the economic dimensions of its security."

A comprehensive security pact in East Asia—which would also impede Japan's potential for military prowess—requires naval arms control, since nearly the entire U.S. arsenal in that region is based on submarines, carriers, and other sea vessels. "No one is paying much attention to naval arms control," Harrison observes. "But you can't do anything without it in East Asia. And, of course, it is global in scope."

Naval arms control will be one litmus test of U.S. willingness to reconsider doctrine. Raymond Garthoff, a former arms negotiator who is now at the Brookings Institution, noted at a summit briefing in May that "I think that's where the two sides are going to face the really tough decisions. It's already clear that the Soviet Union will come into START 2 proposing substantial reductions." U.S. interests, said Garthoff, are to cut the most threatening weapons, those land-based systems with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs). "And the Soviet response will be, 'Fine. MIRVs are threatening, but that's equally true for sea-based MIRV systems, particularly those with high counterforce capability like the U.S. Trident I and II.' And I think that will be the major issue over the next several years."

Return to Basics

At a time of sweeping change, a healthy urge to reassess the nation's direction takes hold of many analysts. The questions are now well known: Can America continue to police the world, given shifts in economic power and the decline of Soviet communism as an adversary? If not, what sort of global role should America adopt?

As such probing questions are contested throughout the 1990s, they inevitably will seep into the insular world of strategic policy. Nuclear strategy is somewhat isolated from broader debate about U.S. foreign policy because the "weaponeers" see their task as a technical endeavor: nuclear arms and strategy are evaluated according to feasibility and utility, rather than desirability. Political (and economic) considerations are intentionally avoided. The alteration of the global landscape in the last few years was wrought by forces — the Gorbachev phenomenon, peace and human-rights activism, shifts in economic power—which seemed apart from the esoteric, technical values of the nuclear enterprise. And that, perhaps, explains why strategists are only now beginning to reassess the purposes and dimensions of nuclear deterrence.

America's role in the world and the role of America's nuclear arsenal must now become part of the same debate. William G. Hyland, editor of *Foreign Affairs*, clearly made this connection in the spring issue of the journal: "American policy cannot ignore the possibility, if not the probability, that Soviet power will revive some years hence and again pose a threat to Eastern and Central Europe. This suggests...a military posture that can be rebuilt in fairly rapid order. Such a posture, in turn, influences how far the United States can go in reductions negotiated in arms control agreements, which seem less critical now than five years ago."

Nuclear weapons have become such a symbol of American power that many analysts cannot imagine a world in which the United States exercises leadership without them. Remarkably, this is true not just for the aging East-West conflict, but for the third world. Some conservatives regard strategic systems like the Trident and the B-2 bomber as providing "long-range power projection" into the third world, particularly where nascent nuclear capability or chemical weapons are harbored. This again relies on the old way of guaranteeing military security; its impotence has been revealed anew by the Persian Gulf crisis late this summer, where nuclear deterrence could play no role in a serious confrontation. In contrast, new forms of common security are now more viable than ever if given the time and commitment to work, and the acceptance of these promising arrangements would signal a shift in U.S. thinking that should affect nuclear doctrine.

Chief among the near-term possibilities is the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), a 35-nation process that ushered in the Helsinki accords in 1975. Many Europeans, including Gorbachev, regard CSCE as the security framework of the future precisely because it includes the Warsaw Pact. An empowered CSCE would, of course, render NATO little more than an artifact of the Cold War. According to Brookings's Garthoff, "from the Soviet point of view, the United States has not seemed to be prepared to move toward accepting this idea of a genuine East-West security framework." The "new Europe" is a hot topic within intellectual circles, and this may filter into broader questions of nuclear policy. Indeed, how the United States regards CSCE will be another litmus test of new thinking.

START 2 and CSCE will be the most public displays of U.S. direction on security and nuclear deterrence in the coming months. But the workings of arms control and the building of new security structures are slow and rarely conclusive. Many strategists in and out of government will cling to old notions of nuclear superiority and counterforce as the linchpins of U.S. policy. "Losers learn a lot more from history than winners do," says MIT's Van Evera. "Nothing focuses the mind like the failure of long-cherished policy. Winners are complacent. It's like, 'We won, and we're cool.'

"Throughout the Cold War not enough questions were raised in the defense community about official beliefs. Today we're seeing a continuation of that. We don't have a debate about roles and missions, and the military is loathe to talk about that—secrecy is to their advantage."

It may be, however, that the cloistered world of strategic theory can no longer ignore the overwhelming, popular desires for deep reductions in nuclear weapons and new, more cooperative security arrangements. Though officialdom still resists reassessment, there are signs that the defense intelligentsia are finally rethinking basic assumptions about nuclear weapons and the U.S. role in the world. The results are not guaranteed, but the tentative move toward "new thinking" is at least a step forward.

Editor John Tirman directs the Winston Foundation for World Peace.

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Toxic Travels

Inside the Military's Environmental Nightmare

BY SETH SHULMAN

Heading south on Route 421, somewhere past the tiny Hoosier town of Versailles (pronounced VerSAYLes), lies the U.S. Army's Jefferson Proving Ground. This southeastern corner of Indiana is beautiful American heartland, with miles of rolling pastures and cornfields, situated near the Ohio and Kentucky borders. But here, as in many locales around the nation, an ominous, toxic legacy has surfaced to threaten us all. The question, still very much unanswered, is whether we can successfully meet the daunting challenge this legacy presents.

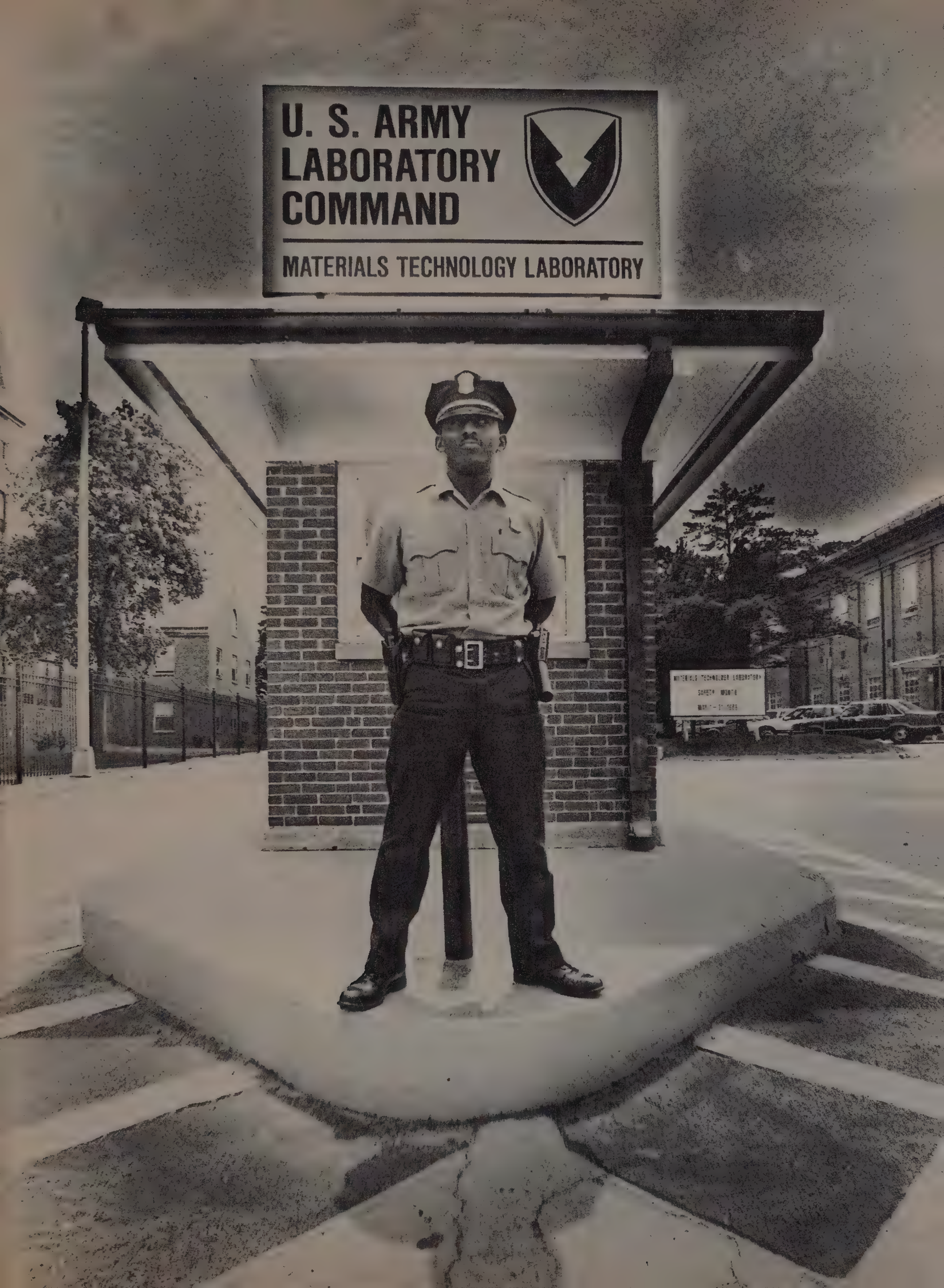
Arriving at this spot by car, the first thing you notice is the fence: an eight-foot tall, rusting chainlink topped with barbed wire. It seems normal enough at first for a military facility, but as it clings unbroken to the road's edge for mile after mile, past Ripley County, through Bryantsburg and Belleview, the fence's length—and the size of the facility it protects—begins to sink in. Enclosed behind this uninviting 48-mile perimeter is one hundred square miles of Indiana that will likely remain closed off forever: an area more than four times larger than Manhattan permanently isolated from human contact like a quarantined victim with a contagious and terminal disease.

U.S. ARMY / JEFFERSON PROVING GROUND

The disease afflicting this vast chunk of Indiana countryside is military toxic contamination.

For its size and quality of contamination, Jefferson Proving Ground presents an unparalleled environmental dilemma, but the facility's problems are not unique. Hidden from public view and largely unfettered by environmental regulations, the U.S. armed forces have left a shocking and varied legacy of contamination at virtually every military installation in the country and at hundreds more bases around the world.

Because of its vast size, the U.S. military continues to rank among the world's largest generators of hazardous wastes, producing nearly a ton of toxic pollutants every minute. Despite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recently begun "waste minimization" programs, the military continues to dump large quantities of deadly chemicals improperly—with little oversight or public accountability.

Today, hazardous wastes are suspected of contaminating more than 20,000 sites on land currently or formerly owned by the U.S. military. At these locations, millions of tons of military toxins have fouled many hundreds—if not thousands—of square miles of soil and polluted air and groundwater in communities across the country, and undoubtedly at hundreds of overseas bases as well.

The obstacles to environmental restoration are formidable, and not the least of them is money. Between the wastes from the Energy Department's nuclear production facilities and those of the Pentagon's bases, the job is now expected to cost several hundreds of billions of dollars.

A Shocking Legacy

After more than a year of research, I have caught only a glimpse of the total picture. But my toxic travels lead me to believe, as some in the Pentagon and the Department of Energy are now beginning to acknowledge, that the toxic legacy left by our nation's military infrastructure constitutes the largest and most serious environmental threat this country has ever faced.

At Jefferson Proving Ground, the army has tested huge quantities of conventional munitions since World War II. After fifty years of discharging some 23 million rounds of ordnance, the army has littered the vast site with more than 1.5 million unexploded bombs, mines, and artillery shells. Some of the ordnance, buried as deep as thirty feet below the surface, are white phosphorus shells that officials at the facility say are certain to ignite if ever exhumed. Other bombs explode unexpectedly from time to time; many more surely would if the army tried to remove them. JPG, as the facility is known locally, is also home to low-level radioactive contamination, toxic sludge, and pesticide residues, but overshadowing all other environmental problems are the unexploded bombs.

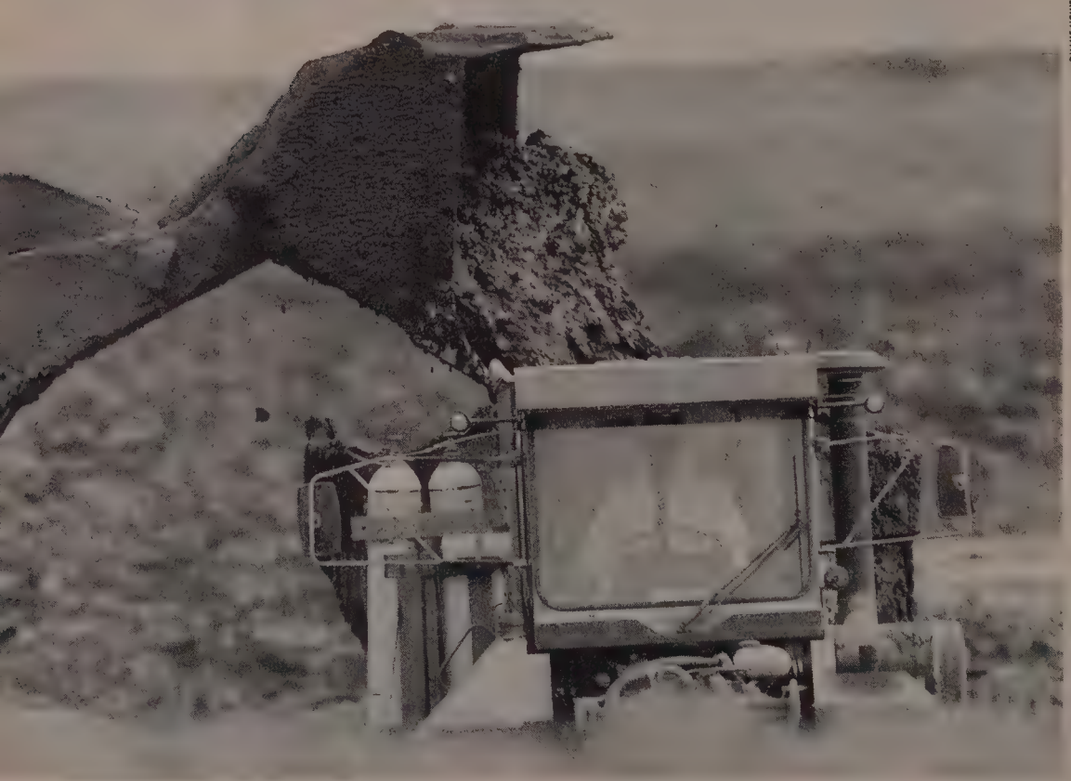
If the weather is clear, as it was upon my arrival at JPG this spring, you can immediately hear and feel the facility at work, even in a speeding car. The sounds are those of the modern battlefield: explosions as loud as thunderclaps, but deeper, and accompanied by ground-shaking tremors similar to the aftershocks of an earthquake. Later, at an official briefing, Col. Dennis O'Brien, the facility's commander, explains that JPG tests 85 percent of the army's conventional munitions and currently fires some 80,000 rounds annually—nearly one every minute when the facility is operating.

Colonel O'Brien, a stocky combat veteran of Vietnam wearing camouflage fatigues, says that the truth about the unexploded ordnance (or "UXO" in army-speak) is that "nobody has a clue how much stuff we have downrange." In addition to the estimated 1.5 million unexploded rounds, the army now acknowledges that another 6.9 million bombs and shells buried at the facility may also have "explosive potential." Not surprisingly, much of the huge complex is strictly off limits.

JPG's environmental problems were placed in clear relief recently when the base became one of 86 military installations around the country Congress ordered shut in the first round of base closures. Astonishingly, the military's base closure commission overlooked JPG's millions of unexploded bombs in its cost calculations. The commission budgeted roughly $30 million to shut the facility, which they figured would cover decontamination of JPG's buildings. Then, the commission said, the base's land could be sold to nearby farmers for $25 million and the army would almost break even.

Since the base closure order became final in 1989, a new picture has emerged. Now, it seems, a complete cleanup may be too dangerous and destructive to conduct, not to mention prohibitively expensive. To remove all the bombs, most of JPG's hundred square miles of wooded and bombed-out land would have to be stripped down to a level thirty feet below the current surface, using special armored bulldozers.

Aside from the issue of where the contaminated earth would go, the job is almost unthinkable in magnitude, and environmentally devastating. One estimate projects the cost of such an under-



DUANE HOWELL/THE DENVER POST

Earth movers transport some of the most polluted dirt on earth at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Colorado.

FLINT BOHN

taking at $13 billion. A report commissioned by the state of Indiana determined that even a more limited cleanup could cost as much as $5 billion, and still the facility would not be safe for unrestricted human contact. To complicate matters further, it remains unclear whether JPG can qualify for cleanup dollars from the federal Superfund, because unexploded ordnance is not normally considered by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) as hazardous waste.

Hazardous waste or not, though, the dangers of unexploded ordnance are fatally clear. At a former military artillery range in San Diego County, California, two children were reportedly killed in 1983 when an old, unexploded artillery shell accidently went off a few yards from their home. Fifteen years prior to the incident, the military had sold the land as surplus property and transferred it to housing developers after completing two separate cleanup efforts at the site.

In many ways, JPG is emblematic of the nation's military toxic mess. The national military toxic burden is a figurative minefield, just as JPG is a literal one. Like JPG, the larger military toxic waste problem is vast—a nightmare of almost overwhelming proportion. And like JPG, the vast military toxic problem lurks behind a fenced and guarded perimeter, waiting, politically at least, to explode.

The Hidden Reality

To date, none of the Energy Department's production facilities have been decontaminated, and Pentagon cleanup efforts have been completed at less than 2 percent of those waste sites identified on current and former military installations. Some of the remaining 98 percent of the sites, like Jefferson Proving Ground, already seem destined to become "national sacrifice zones," written off by the government and left to contaminate our country for generations to come.

Rampant secrecy has allowed the military to withhold information for years, even in the face of documented evidence that neighboring residents were endangered. And secrecy continues to mar the military's cleanup program. Almost all of the statistics presented here emanate from the military; there is virtually no other source. The Pentagon, for instance, prefers to discuss its record in terms of individual toxic waste sites rather than contaminated installations. The hidden reality is that cleanup has actually been completed at only a handful of installations—four as of the government's last reporting. Three of these installations had relatively minor environmental problems to begin with.

In truth, most of the military's vaunted cleanup efforts underway or planned for the near term are temporary measures, primarily intended to prevent the contamination from spreading. These "interim actions" include the construction of alternative water supply and treatment systems. Sometimes when contamination has been found in neighboring wells, the military has simply dug deeper wells in the same spot and categorized it as part of their cleanup program.

Despite the military's best efforts to obscure it, we remain in the midst of little more than a counting phase at this point in the military toxic debacle, and the numbers continue to rise. The military's roster of toxic sites has tripled since 1986. Even between the two most recent annual reports—for 1988 and 1989—the military discovered more than 5,000 new suspected sites at its installations, the bulk of them at army bases.

A Black Box Overseas

If the Pentagon has its way, you will never learn about the extent of environmental contamination at the 375 U.S. military bases overseas. In 1986, the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO)—an investigative arm of Congress—completed an overview on the topic, but the report was classified by the Pentagon and thereby withheld from public scrutiny. The GAO has just completed a follow-up study of the matter as *Nuclear Times* goes to press, but the Pentagon will almost certainly suppress these findings as well.

While many individuals and groups are currently battling the Pentagon to learn the truth about U.S. military contamination overseas, Defense Department officials continue to maintain that the information is "too sensitive" to be released. As several congressional staffers explain, the material has been classified because it is embarrassing to the U.S. government. They say the Pentagon fears (perhaps justifiably) that documented evidence of contamination could fuel ongoing efforts in several nations to oust the U.S. military from their countries.

How polluted are U.S. foreign bases? The GAO reports may never be released officially, but some findings have come to light. The U.S. Air Force has acknowledged, according to one report, that it polluted soil and streams of groundwater at every one of its airfields in Europe. And while the U.S. Army has yet to begin a formal investigation of contamination abroad, it has identified 300 contaminated sites to date in West Germany alone. Meanwhile, the Pentagon has established no specific program for environmental restoration for overseas contamination—and no budget to clean up these polluted lands.

Perhaps most disturbing is detailed government evidence of contamination at U.S. military installations on Guam, a self-governing U.S. territory in the Pacific, where U.S. bases take up half of the nation's real estate. An unclassified 1987 GAO report cites dozens of environmental violations on Guam's bases. Here, according to the report, workers dumped toxic chemicals into the ground and into storm drains that contaminated Guam's principal aquifer—the source of drinking water for the majority of the island's population.

Given the U.S. military's record at home and mounting public evidence from around the world, Guam's predicament is widely believed to offer an early glimpse of the type of U.S. military contamination overseas that is virtually certain to surface in numerous other locations as well.

—Seth Shulman

Communities Organize Against Military Toxics

BY LENNY SIEGEL

No region of the United States is immune to military pollution. Every segment of the American population contains people who are organizing to protect themselves, their families, and their communities from the toxic legacy of a half century of military mobilization. The following three examples represent the range of local activism against military toxics.

KIRTLAND AIR FORCE BASE

Mountainview, New Mexico, is a semi-rural, low-income, predominantly Hispanic community of more than 3,000 people just south of Albuquerque. Mountainview lies "downstream" from Kirtland Air Force Base on the Tijeras Arroyo, a streambed that fills with water whenever it rains. Historically, residents have relied upon private wells for both drinking and agricultural water supplies.

U.S. ARMY/GARY STEGNER

In 1969, the U.S. Geological Survey discovered high levels of nitrates in the well serving the Mountainview Elementary School. In 1980, a Mountainview baby nearly died after drinking formula made with nitrate-contaminated well water. In 1986, state water testing found that the nitrate pollution included nitroaromatic compounds, such as nitroglycerine and nitrobenzene, used in explosives. Naturally, residents suspected Kirtland, but base officials denied responsibility.

With the help of the SouthWest Organizing Project (SWOP), residents formed the Mountainview Advisory Council (MAC). They contacted elected officials, who in turn made sure that $100,000 in Kirtland installation restoration funds would finance a study to determine whether Kirtland had contributed to groundwater pollution downstream. When the air force hired the U.S. Geological Survey to conduct the study, SWOP and MAC demanded and received an advisory role.

In late 1987, SWOP and MAC representatives spoke before a congressional field hearing focused specifically on polluted groundwater in Mountainview and one other neighborhood. Lorraine Hufstutler, speaking for the Mountainview community, complained, "We, the residents of Mountainview, have not flushed explosive materials such as dinitrotoluene, dinitrobenzene, and nitroglycerin down our toilets. We can no longer grow our gardens, we can no longer safely bathe, and we have no water to drink."

In 1989, when Kirtland sought state and federal permits for new hazardous waste storage facilities, SWOP and its allies took the opportunity to criticize the base's waste-handling practices. The Environmental Protection Agency used the permit process to order an expedited investigation of potential contamination sites on the base.

In early 1990, when the air force established a working group to address environmental issues in the Albuquerque area, SWOP and MAC were there. They requested, and won, formal participation in the working group. This included participation in its rotating chairmanship, along with the air force and state and federal environmental agencies. Originally, the air force presented a charter explaining that the working group was part of its community relations plan for complying with federal hazardous waste laws. At SWOP and MAC's insistence, the charter now states, "A primary purpose of the group shall address groundwater contamination in the Mountainview community and its possible connection to activities by KAFB [Kirtland Air Force Base] and/or its tenants."

CHERRY POINT MARINE CORPS AIR STATION

For many years, the Marine Corps Air Station at Cherry Point, North Carolina, dumped raw or inadequately treated industrial wastes into nearby creeks. Today, sediment from Slocum Creek, the location of the base's main discharge pipe, contains high levels of at least ten metals, including cadmium, mercury, chromium, and lead. Fish taken from the creek also show elevated metal concentrations, as well as reproductive and morphological problems.

This year the base command asked the state Division of Environmental Management for a new wastewater discharge permit that would allow it to move its sewage outflow to the river into which Slocum Creek flows. The marines also requested increased limits in allowable discharges of seven toxic metals, including a 10-fold increase in cadmium releases, a 17-fold increase in chromium releases, and a 10-fold rise in nickel discharges.

Opponents of the new permit inundated local lawmakers with mail. About 150 showed up at a public hearing, protesting, in a refrain heard in many parts of the country, that "the solution to pollution is not dilution." Among those who argued for delay or denial of the permit, were a state toxicologist, a waterfowl biologist from the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission, a University of North Carolina marine geologist, and a research team from East Carolina University's medical school and geology department.

The North Carolina Coastal Federation also testified against the new outfall, warning that it could threaten the recreational use of the river, and that any pollution of the Neuse River would be irreversible. They stated that the outfall could lead to the accumulation of toxic metals, even if the marines met end-of-pipe release limits. As *Nuclear Times* goes to press, the state is still considering the permit request.

MOFFETT NAVAL AIR STATION

At the southern end of San Francisco Bay, the Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition has been organizing for nearly a decade to demand the expeditious cleanup of the nation's largest cluster of Superfund sites—a total of 27 within Santa Clara County. One of those sites is Moffett Naval Air Station, which, following decades of openly dumping fuel, solvents, and other wastes, sits on a massive pool of trichloroethylene (TCE) and other toxic substances.

Though about 272,000 people are served by drinking-water wells located within three miles of Moffett, contamination from the base has not yet entered that water supply. The navy's toxic plume is downstream from the nearest public wells. In fact, a civilian Superfund plume lies between those wells and Moffett.

When it became apparent that Moffett officials were moving even more slowly than nearby private polluters, the Toxics Coalition initiated a series of meetings with Moffett's neighbors. The group took its call for faster cleanup to the press, legislators, and the Environmental Protection Agency.

Now, representatives from the Toxics Coalition actively participate in the quarterly meetings of the Moffett Technical Review Committee, asking questions not only about plans to remove the TCE plume, but also pinning down base officials on plans to prevent future contamination. The coalition, which already has an EPA Technical Assistance Grant to monitor progress at IBM's South San Jose plant, is applying for another grant to oversee both the cleanup effort at Moffett and at adjacent civilian Superfund sites.

Lenny Siegel, director of the Pacific Studies Center in Mountain View, California, wrote Our Own Worst Enemy, *a report documenting the breadth of U.S. military toxic contamination, for the National Toxics Campaign Fund.*

The real military toxics story, however, does not lie in empty overview numbers or bureaucratic documents, but in individual cases involving specific people and circumstances. Each local military toxic battle exhibits its own distinct features, but most share important aspects as well. The lumbering complexity of military bureaucracy and its penchant for secrecy during the environmental assessment and cleanup process are common complaints. The public is too often "informed of" rather than involved in the decision-making process over cleanup procedures at their local facility, usually after community health has been threatened.

Concerned neighbors of military sites worry about the environmental threat they face, but they also fear the stigma of dropping property values and lost jobs if too much noise is made about the contamination, or if their local military facility, like JPG, is forced to close. What these communities often do not realize is that their struggle is simultaneously being reenacted in many other locations.

In a National Governor's Association report issued earlier this year, the states' executive officers expressed a collective outrage at the federal government's "blatant disregard" for its own environmental laws. They also lambasted a "hamstrung" EPA that is "forced to sit by as basic environmental statutes and regulations are routinely ignored" by the military and other federal facilities.

"Virtually every state has within its borders federally owned or operated facilities with environmental violations and compliance problems," the report noted, adding that the U.S. government's facilities around the country operate "at health and environmental standards below the standards it mandates for private firms." The report addressed all federally owned facilities, but it singled out two agencies as the worst federal offenders of all: the Department of Defense and the Department of Energy.

A Pattern of Abuse

By almost all accounts, the military's treatment of the environment has improved notably over the past several years. Nevertheless, the impact of these changes has only begun to register nationally. Military facilities continue to lag far behind their corporate counterparts in their compliance with environmental regulations, earning them a record as the nation's worst violator of hazardous waste laws. Despite the military's current rhetoric, their cleanup record to date is dismal, displaying an unprecedented pattern of environmental abuse and neglect that spans generations, as the following examples attest.

PICATINNY: At the Picatinny Army Installation in New Jersey, levels of the cancer-causing solvent trichloroethylene (TCE) were found in groundwater migrating off the base at levels five thousand times drinking water standards. The army has known of the contamination since 1976, but the public learned about it only this year from a local newspaper report. Today, fourteen years after the contamination was discovered, the Picatinny facility is proposed for inclusion on the EPA's roster of the nation's most dangerously contaminated facilities. But the army's final study of the pollution is still not completed.

LAKEHURST: Nearby, at New Jersey's Lakehurst Naval Air Station, a 1983 navy report documented that 3.2 million gallons of cancer-causing aviation fuel and other toxic substances had polluted an aquifer that provides tap water for most of southern New Jersey. Three different tests indicated levels of toxic substances as high as 10,000 times above levels the state considers safe. The navy's report was not made public until two years later—after the local press had independently investigated the contamination. Lakehurst has yet to be cleaned up.

CORNHUSKER: At the Cornhusker Army Ammunition Plant in Nebraska several years ago, an army spokesperson defended the base's decision not to notify nearby residents that their drinking wells were contaminated with dangerous levels of explosive compounds. "We didn't want to get them overly anxious," he said. Consequently, the army waited until 1984—a full year later—to go public with this information, even after three separate tests showed definitively that the installation's chemicals contaminated some 800 private wells. In recent years, residents have been provided with municipal water, piped in at the government's expense, and the army has incinerated more than 40,000 tons of soil at the

U.S. ARMY/JENIFER BAKER

Workers gluing sections of pipe at Picatinny's "pump and treat" plant. After being buried in the ground, this pipe will be used to remove hazardous materials from TCE-contaminated groundwater at the arsenal.

U.S. ARMY TOXIC & HAZARDOUS MATERIALS AGENCY

A mobile incinerator at Cornhusker Army Ammunition Plant looms above an explosives-contaminated stockpile.

LINCOLN JOURNAL-STAR

Women assembling shells at the Cornhusker plant in 1951.

facility. But the underground plume of polluted water has never been cleaned up, and probably never will be.

McCLELLAN: With a total of 167 separate toxic waste sites, McClellan Air Force Base in Sacramento, California, ranks as one of the most contaminated installations in the country. Much of the waste comes from solvents the air force routinely uses to spray down its planes. For decades, they drained the chemicals directly into the ground. But the military also admits to the presence of high levels of degreasers, PCBs, acids, low-level radioactive waste, and other contaminants.

The McClellan facility is one of the first bases where the local community organized to fight the contamination. Over 23,000 residents depend on the groundwater for domestic and agricultural use, and some won hookups to an alternative water source. A preliminary water treatment facility has been installed at the base to prevent the migration of contaminants off the base. Despite the community's many small and precedent-setting victories, however, the air force says it has completed its cleanup effort at only one of McClellan's 167 toxic sites, and finished its final study of only 17 sites. In fact, at less than half of the base's various contaminated sites has the air force even begun its remedial investigation.

HANFORD: At the Energy Department's notorious Hanford Nuclear Reservation in the southeastern corner of Washington State, one million gallons of high-level liquid radioactive waste have reportedly leaked from underground tanks. And more than a half-million curies of radioactive materials have been released into the atmosphere, exposing at least 13,000 residents to dangerous levels of radiation. The Energy Department kept the sanctioned airborne emissions secret for forty years. The information was discovered only after local residents fought for the release of over 19,000 pages of government documents from the facility.

The cost to clean up Hanford's radioactive and mixed toxic wastes is now estimated at a staggering $57 billion, more than four times greater than the Energy Department's entire budget for fiscal year 1989. In addition, much of this effort still remains technically unresolved; planners have no idea how to clean up the leaking and potentially explosive tank farm. Even if such solutions were found, no permanent dump site yet exists for this high-level nuclear waste.

ABERDEEN: Three officials at the army's Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland were convicted last year for "flagrant violations" of the state's hazardous waste laws in an unprecedented criminal trial. Drinking water wells for some 35,000 residents lie within a few miles of the facility. In just one documented incident in 1985, 200 gallons of acid spilled into a local stream that flows into the Chesapeake Bay. State environmental officials described the facility, which develops and tests equipment including chemical munitions, as "a Pandora's box of potential sources of contamination." Workers at the facility are known to have dumped poisons including napalm, arsenic, cyanide, and chemical nerve agents into the ground at the facility, but so far, the army has begun only limited, interim cleanup efforts at the installation.

OTIS: State epidemiological data continue to reveal increased levels of cancer and other diseases among residents of western Cape Cod in Massachusetts, and a link between the health effects and environmental practices at the neighboring Otis Air Force Base is gaining scientific and government support. Residents have complained for more than a decade about environmental practices at the base. Air force personnel have dumped millions of gallons of aviation fuel into the sand, contaminating a shallow aquifer that upper-Cape Cod residents depend upon for drinking water.

Routine open-air burning of toxic

artillery propellants and many other illegal environmental practices at the base have amplified the problem. The U.S. Geological Survey documented as early as 1984 that a plume of contaminants, including solvents and volatile organic componds, had migrated off the base and toward the nearby town of Falmouth. Alternative sources of water have been provided to a limited number of residents at the air force's expense, but no official cleanup action has begun at the base.

Standard Operating Procedures

These cases provide only a sample of the overall military toxic picture. They are not isolated incidents. Rather, they represent local pieces of the devastating environmental costs of our nation's ceaseless preparation for war. Furthermore, they don't take into account the contamination at overseas U.S. bases, land formerly owned by the military, and private military contractor sites.

Where, exactly, do these hazardous wastes come from? The first key to understanding the military toxic waste legacy is an appreciation of the Defense Department's huge scale. The bloated size of the military is often expressed in terms of its $300 billion yearly budget or its two million enlisted personnel, but the scale can be illustrated in other ways as well.

The emerging story of military toxic waste reveals a picture of the Defense Department as a vast industrial enterprise. It purchased, for example, over 200 billion barrels of oil for military use last year—enough, by one estimate, to run the nation's entire public transit system for 22 years. The armed forces are believed to have some 40,000 underground storage tanks to hold oil and other chemicals, and many of these tanks are known to be leaking. When the military sold off a tiny fraction of its "surplus" hazardous materials over the last few years, even this share was worth hundreds of millions of dollars.

Add to the vast scale of the Defense Department an appraisal of its mission. The Pentagon's war preparations generate hazardous materials through innumerable facets of its daily work. The overwhelming majority of these hazardous by-products are not the result of some devious, errant base commander dumping toxic wastes illegally after dark. Rather, the bulk of the military's toxic wastes originate from decades of standard daily operating procedures. Many practices have been changed to meet environmental regulations; many others continue unaltered since World War II, and even earlier.

These standard procedures are used for developing, producing, testing, storing, and modernizing the military's conventional weapons as well as its nuclear and chemical arsenals. Cornhusker and other army ammunition plants have caused some of the military's worst environmental problems—mostly from explosive compounds disposed of improperly. But Jefferson Proving Ground gives more than ample illustration that the environmental problems associated with conventional munitions do not come only from their production.

In addition to the military's weap-

Buyer Beware

Organizationally speaking, the only mess bigger than that at military facilities currently owned by the Pentagon at home and abroad is the one involving formerly owned land and surplus materials sold off by the military to frequently unsuspecting consumers. The record in these areas is clear: anyone considering a purchase of surplus military land or materials should be extremely wary about the environmental liabilities they might be buying into.

Consider the case of Collinsville, California. Here, last year, a large barn was discovered to contain 35,000 gallons of highly toxic mixed waste in leaking containers, all bearing U.S. military identification markings. The material was so dangerous that, upon its discovery, the state had to call in an emergency 25-member environmental SWAT team to decontaminate the site. The job took the team almost two weeks and cost more than one million dollars; some of the leaking wastes were so hazardous they couldn't be moved across state lines and had to be exploded on site.

While the military acknowledges that the drums were once U.S. government property, Pentagon officials claim that because the wastes were sold in an allotment of surplus material, the military is not liable for any of the cleanup costs—an argument that private firms would not be allowed under Superfund laws.

After a full-blown state investigation and a special congressional hearing, the Collinsville case appears to be part of an emerging pattern. The military has sold toxic materials to the public that would otherwise have become hazardous waste—materials ranging from old paints and solvents past their expiration dates to leaking drums of a highly toxic and corrosive decontamination agent used to counter the residue of chemical warfare agents.

A regulation promulgated this spring attempts to limit the domestic sale of surplus hazardous materials by the military. But there is little question about the damage done so far by off-loading hazardous materials through the twelve domestic locations of the Defense Reutilization and Marketing Service, which sells surplus military goods.

The recent congressional hearing showed that the military has been systematically selling hazardous materials and then refusing to accept any liability for the materials that have often been dumped illegally along roadsides, in vacant lots, or, as in the Collinsville case, hidden in barns or warehouses. The hearing also highlighted the bureaucratic rationale for the sale of hazardous materials through the military surplus outlet. By selling off surplus hazardous materials, base commanders can minimize the amount of toxic waste the base has to account for. And while surplus waste materials might not fetch much money relative to their purchase price, the base can avoid recycling or disposal costs.

Meanwhile, a separate government agency sells off pieces of land the military formerly owned; here, as well, an emerging disaster can be witnessed. These polluted pieces of property fall technically under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The corps says that there are more than 7,000 pieces of property believed to have been formerly owned—and polluted—by the military. While some of this land remains under the jurisdiction of nonmilitary federal or state agencies, other parcels have been sold to sometimes unsuspecting private citizens.

The level of contamination at the vast majority of these "excessed" former military lands remains unknown. The corps has completed a cursory preliminary inspection at less than one quarter of them. At only 203 of these properties has any remedial work or a more thorough investigation been undertaken. Seven of these formerly owned properties have already been shown to have contamination serious enough to merit inclusion (final or proposed) on the Superfund National Priority List of the nation's most polluted sites. Many more could be in the offing.

A recent congressional report estimates that nearly half of the 7,118 properties that are suspected of contamination are likely to require "large, costly cleanups of landfills, burial sites, and gasoline tank farms at former arsenals, ammunitions plants, and depots." Another several hundred of these sites, according to the report, will necessitate cleaning up explosives and explosives manufacturing wastes.

—Seth Shulman

THE MILITARY'S TOXIC

Millions of tons of military toxics have polluted thousands of square miles across the United States, turning some areas i
sites, cleanup costs are estimated at several hundred billion dollars. Some of the worst sites—most of which are on th

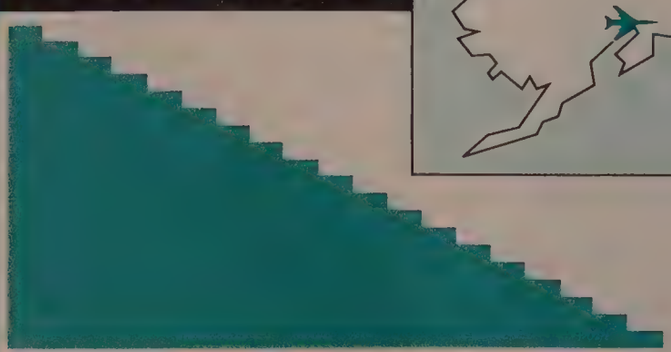
Hanford Nuclear Reservation's radioactive and toxic cotamination ranks, arguably, as the nuclear age's most dangerous—and costly—single environmental legacy: taxpayers will spend $57 billion to clean up this facility alone, according to the Energy Department.

Explosive compounds from Nebraska's **Cornhusker Army Ammunition Plant** polluted the wells of a thousand neighboring residents. To date, the army has incinerated 40,000 tons of contaminated soil here, but the underground toxic plume remains, and its cleanup is not expected.

With nearly 1,000 confirmed toxic sites on more than 100 currently owned military facilities, California leads the nation in military pollution. Twenty of the state's military bases sit atop the Superfund National Priority List, but still the military lists only 2 percent of the known sites as having been cleaned up.

Rocky Mountain Arsenal, in Denver, Colorado, is believed by the Army Corps of Engineers to contain "the world's most toxic square mile"—the deadly dumpsite of decades' worth of by-products from the production of nerve and mustard gas.

CLEANUP PROGRESS



CURRENTLY OWNED MILITARY BASES REQUIRING CLEANUP (1,552)

MILITARY BASES WHERE CLEANUP IS COMPLETE (4)

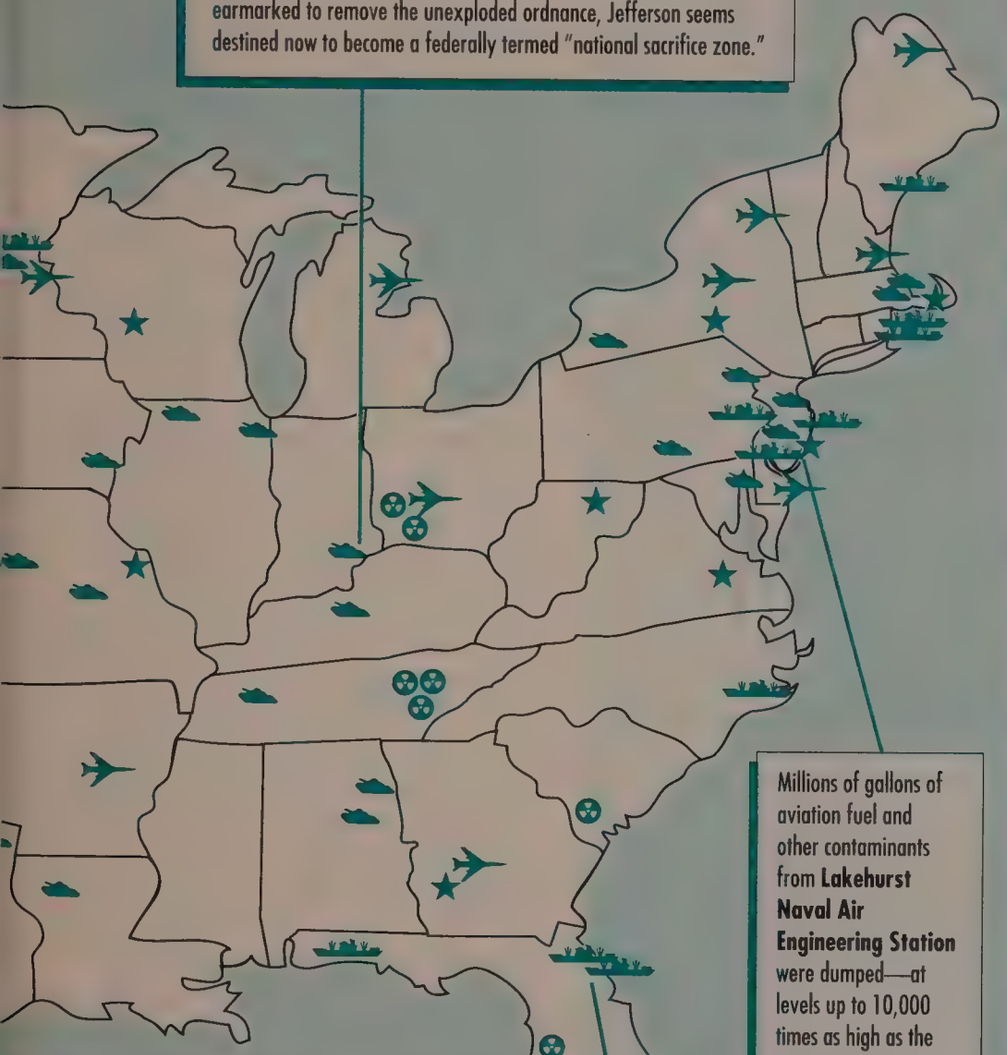
Air Force Plant 4 near Fort Worth, Texas, proposed for the Superfund priority list, manufactures aircraft. The facility has contaminated ground and surface water with some of the most toxic and carcinogenic chemicals known, and threatened drinking water for 13,000 neighboring residents, but no cleanup has begun to date.

MAP: Seth Shulman and Shawna Moos. ***DESIGN:*** *David Gerratt.*

TRAIL

"national sacrifice zones." With more than 20,000 suspected entagon's National Priorities list—are highlighted below.

Jefferson Proving Ground, a 100-square-mile army facility in Indiana, is littered with up to 7.5 million unexploded bombs, mines, and artillery shells. With the base slated for closure, and no funds earmarked to remove the unexploded ordnance, Jefferson seems destined now to become a federally termed "national sacrifice zone."



Millions of gallons of aviation fuel and other contaminants from **Lakehurst Naval Air Engineering Station** were dumped—at levels up to 10,000 times as high as the state considers safe—into an aquifer providing tap water for most of southern New Jersey.

Residents living near Florida's **Jacksonville Naval Air Station** are suing the navy for dumping contaminated wastes, including heavy metals, paints, acids, solvents, and cyanide in their local landfill illegally. The contamination has polluted area groundwater and forced some families to relocate.

TOXIC CLEANUP SCORECARD

	Bases	Toxic Sites	Sites with Cleanup Underway*	Sites with Cleanup Completed
Army	1,125	8,642	447	135
Navy	184	2,031	87	28
Air Force	243	3,481	368	117
Former Military Sites		7,118	109	94
TOTAL	1,552	21,272	1,011	374

***NOTE:** Military documents list contamination by suspected toxic "sites." Among all the services, only four bases—or roughly one quarter of one percent—are listed as having been fully cleaned up to date.

SOURCE: Adapted from the Defense Environmental Restoration Program Annual Report, February 1990.

MILITARY HOT SPOTS

A selection of some of the nation's most contaminated military sites

ARMY

- AK Fort Wainwright
- AL Alabama Army Ammunition Plant
- Anniston Army Depot
- AZ Yuma Proving Ground
- CA Fort Ord
- Riverbank Army Ammunition Plant
- Sacramento Army Depot
- Sharpe Army Depot
- CO Rocky Mountain Arsenal
- HI Schofield Barracks
- IA Iowa Army Ammunition Plant
- IL Joliet Army Ammunition Plant
- Savanna Army Depot Activity
- IN Jefferson Proving Ground
- KS Fort Riley
- KY Fort Knox
- LA Louisiana Army Ammunition Plant
- MA Fort Devens
- Fort Devens Sudbury Training Annex
- MD Aberdeen Proving Ground
- MN Twin Cities Army Ammunition Plant
- MO Lake City Army Ammunition Plant
- NB Cornhusker Army Ammunition Plant
- NJ Fort Dix
- Picatinny Arsenal
- NY Seneca Army Depot
- OK McAlester Army Ammunition Plant
- OR Umatilla Army Depot
- PA Letterkenny Army Depot
- Tobyhanna Army Depot
- TN Milan Army Ammunition Plant
- TX Lone Star Army Ammunition Plant
- Longhorn Army Ammunition Plant
- UT Tooele Army Depot
- WA Fort Lewis

NAVY

- CA Concord Naval Air Weapons Station
- Moffet Naval Air Station
- Treasure Island Naval Station-Hunter's Point Annex
- FL Cecil Field Naval Air Station
- Jacksonville Naval Air Station
- Pensacola Naval Air Station
- ME Brunswick Naval Air Station
- MN Fridley Naval Industrial Reserve Ordnance Plant
- NC Camp Lejeune Military Reservation
- NJ Earle Naval Weapons Station
- Lakehurst Naval Air Center
- NV Fallon Naval Air Station
- PA Warminster Naval Air Development Center
- RI Davisville Naval Construction Battlion Center
- Newport Naval Education and Training Center
- WA Bangor Naval Submarine Base
- Whidbey Island Naval Air Station
- Keyport Naval Undersea Warfare Station

AIR FORCE

- AK Eilelson Air Force Base (AFB)
- Elmendorf AFB
- AR Little Rock AFB
- AZ Luke AFB
- Williams AFB
- CA Castle AFB
- Edwards AFB
- George AFB
- March AFB
- Mather AFB
- McClellan AFB
- Norton AFB
- Travis AFB
- CO Air Force Plant PJKS
- DE Dover AFB
- FL Homestead AFB
- GA Robins AFB
- ID Mountain Home AFB
- MA Otis Air National Guard Base/ Camp Edwards
- ME Loring AFB
- MI Wurtsmith AFB
- MN Twin Cities A.F. Reserve Base
- NH Pease AFB
- NY Griffiss AFB
- Plattsburgh AFB
- OH Wright-Patterson AFB
- OK Tinker AFB
- SD Ellsworth AFB
- TX Air Force Plant Four
- UT Hill AFB
- WA Fairchild AFB
- McChord AFB
- WY F.E. Warren AFB

OTHER MILITARY ★ *(includes formerly owned sites)*

- AZ Yuma Marine Corps (MC) Air Station
- Litchfield Park Naval Air Station
- CA Barstow MC Logistics Base
- Camp Pendleton MC Base
- El Toro MC Air Station
- Tracy Defense Depot
- GA Albany MC Logistics Base
- MO Weldon Spring
- NB Hastings East Industrial Park
- NJ Federal Aviation Administration Technical Center
- NY Marathon Battery
- UT Ogden Defense Depot
- VA Defense General Supply Center Engineering Station
- WI Eau Claire Ordnance Plant
- WV Morgantown Ordnance Works

NUCLEAR

- CA Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory
- Sandia National Laboratory (Livermore)
- CO Rocky Flats Plant
- FL Pinellas Plant
- ID Idaho National Engineering Laboratory
- KS Kansas City Plant
- NM Los Alamos National Laboratory
- NM Sandia National Laboratory (Albuquerque)
- NV Nevada Test Site
- OH Fernald Plant
- Mound Plant
- SC Savannah River Plant
- TN Oak Ridge Gaseous Plant
- Oak Ridge National Laboratory
- Oak Ridge Y-12 Plant
- TX Pantex Plant
- WA Hanford Nuclear Reservation

onry, however, huge quantities of waste are generated through the construction and maintenance of military equipment. Each branch of the armed forces maintains a huge fleet of vehicles, tanks, planes, or ships, all of which require the routine use of hazardous materials. In this regard, the different branches of the military have their own problems. Daily operations, such as vehicle and airplane maintenance, generate enormous quantities of toxic waste oils, fuels, solvents, and degreasers. The air force, at sites in dozens of states, has pervasive problems associated with its historically indiscriminate use of solvents to clean its planes. Virtually every air force base is contaminated with solvents, most notably TCE—seen decades ago as "a miracle solvent" and known today as a carcinogen.

The navy has a wide array of toxic problems, including the improper disposal of wastes, residues, and by-products from the specially designed—and highly toxic—paints used on ships and submarines. All the armed services conduct electroplating and other heavy industrial practices that generate heavy metals and acids. And many specialized aspects of the military's mission, such as the development of chemical weapons or high-tech materials, generate even more exotic wastes.

Exercise Your Rights

If you live near a military base, chances are good that it has released hazardous materials into the environment. If possible, challenge the military's right to pollute before the contamination directly threatens your health or the health of your family. Assert your right to know exactly what the base is releasing into the environment. Private manufacturers are required to make public estimates of their toxic releases—to the air, water, or land. Ask your local military base to do the same. If the facility's lengthy environmental studies—often available at local reference libraries—are not easily accessible, ask for your own copies on loan.

When the data the military provides do not adequately explain malodorous drinking water, high rates of disease, or other anomalies that may occur in your community, insist upon the right to inspect—that is, to have independent labs evaluate air, soil, or water, on or near the base as well as nearby. Local universities often have experts in chemistry, biology, or medicine just looking for a chance to put their craft to good use. The National Toxics Campaign Fund now has its own lab, which runs its own tests and can tell you how to prepare samples.

If you find a problem that the base command is not addressing expeditiously, exercise your right to negotiate. Get your representatives onto the installation's environmental advisory committee, often known as the Technical Review Committee. Use the committee to stay informed, to establish your legitimacy as a representative of the affected public, and to demand action. If the military ignores a problem, moves too slowly, or adopts an unsafe cleanup or pollution-prevention strategy, be prepared to go the the press, to regulators, to legislators, or even to the courts.

Don't let the base command or the press define the solutions, or even the problems. At most bases, the deadly result of decades of environmental neglect attracts the most attention, but it's also important to focus on hazardous wastes that are currently being generated and released. The Pentagon has established strong, positive goals for preventing pollution. Is your base moving in that direction?

Local environmental activists, working with the National Toxics Campaign Fund, created the Military Toxics Network (MTN) to share information, ideas, and experience. In October, they are releasing *Our Own Worst Enemy*, a report documenting the breadth of military toxic contamination. The report delineates more than thirty recommendations, primarily federal policy changes. The MTN is working with groups such as Friends of the Earth and the Campaign for Responsible Technology to see that those recommendations are adopted and implemented.

The MTN has also created the Grass Roots Environmental Evaluation of Federal Facilities (GREEFF) Report Card to encourage organizers across the country to ask the same questions. Local activists can grade their neighboring bases in five categories: community relations, cleanup, waste handling, pollution prevention, and effort.

The MTN strategy is to build effective local organizations at each major military installation and contractor plant. Working locally, they insist that environmental restoration and protection programs are carried out. Working together, they are calling for increased environmental funding and stronger environmental regulation. For decades, the Defense Department has influenced the popular will by spreading its financial benefits, either in the form of installations or contracts, into virtually every portion of the country. Now is the time to turn that pork barrel—or rather, the ubiquitous 55-gallon drum—on its head.

—Lenny Siegel

Eastern Europe in the USA

The prevalence of the military toxic waste problem is due largely to the military's penchant for secrecy and the lack of outside oversight of its practices. Ammunition can be made and planes cleaned in ways that minimize environmental effects. We know this because our nation demands it of private industry.

Yet, while the private sector was on a steep learning curve during the environmentally conscious 1970s, the military remained exempt from public scrutiny and historically considered itself above existing environmental laws. "We're in the business of protecting the nation, not the environment," one base commander told Maryland residents in 1984. In some ways, the results of U.S. military practices are akin to the unregulated environmental atrocities perpetrated in many parts of Eastern Europe.

A troubling aspect of the current situation is that the U.S. Justice Department has consistently held that the EPA cannot enforce environmental regulations at other federal agencies, such as the Defense Department.

Instead, the Pentagon has been left to police itself. The enfeebled EPA has had to gradually list military sites on its Superfund National Priority List and arrange for so-called "interagency agreements" in which the Pentagon, at its discretion, agrees to abide by the nation's environmental laws. As Rep. Mike Synar (D-OK), a major player in the military toxic debate, has said, "Justice has basically tied the EPA's hands."

To the agency's credit, the EPA has listed or proposed 90 Pentagon sites on its Superfund list, and more are expected. Already, the number listed or proposed has almost doubled since September 1988. Twenty interagency agreements between the EPA and the Pentagon had been signed as of the Defense Department's most recent report, but twice that number remain tangled in negotiations.

Needless to say, the emerging picture is troubling. "What good does it do to protect ourselves from the Soviets," an exasperated Sen. John Glenn (D-OH) asked his colleagues

last year, "if we poison ourselves in the process?"

Spoils of War

Travels for work and pleasure have taken me to many spots around the world where the haunting and palpable memory of war lingers. On the tiny Pacific island of Peleliu, where one of the bloodiest battles of World War II was fought, rusted hulls and bombed out bunkers left by Japanese and American troops still dot otherwise pristine beaches. No casual visitor here could avoid contemplating the brutal past their presence conjures up.

Few experiences, however, prepared me for the more hidden consequence of war I was to witness at the army's Rocky Mountain Arsenal on the outskirts of Denver. To me, its lasting image is more potent than books full of data about military contamination.

For decades, some of the most deadly chemicals known have been dumped on the arsenal's land, including lethal by-products of nerve and mustard gas production. The contaminants have conspired to lend the facility its dubious distinction as home to the most toxic square mile on earth. Upon my visit, in the spring of 1988, David Strang, a fifteen-year veteran of the arsenal who then directed its technical operations division, drove me past a large gray factory complex. Now boarded up and condemned because of their contamination levels, the buildings had been the major site of army production of chemical weapons since World War II.

Continuing our tour past the complex, Strang's pickup truck followed a long, straight road through the center of the facility. Beside the road, stretching ahead to our right, lay the factories' dumping grounds—known euphemistically as Basins A through E—each one now just a huge hollow of burnt-out earth.

The row of dump sites, each the size of a small lake, visibly marks the arsenal's history. At the far end, hundreds of yards across the road, lay the unforgettable sight of the most recent dump—Basin F. Because it had been lined with asphalt, unlike its neighbors, the 93-acre Basin F still displayed its noxious contents: nearly 9 million gallons of

U.S. ARMY/GARY STEGNER

At Jefferson Proving Ground, explosive ordnance disposal specialists have dug up an unexploded projectile. Since 1965, the army has left over 1.5 million unexploded bombs, mines, and shells at the test site.

U.S. ARMY/ROCKY MOUNTAIN ARSENAL

At Rocky Mountain Arsenal, workers siphon contaminated liquid into Basin F, a disposal lagoon designed to hold toxic waste from army chemical manufacturing operations.

aquamarine-colored toxic sludge. Only at the sight of Basin F did the horror of the other now-empty dump sites come into perspective. Only then, before this phosphorescent toxic lake, nestled beneath the Rocky Mountains, could I begin to fathom the arsenal's poisonous underground plume, nearly the size of the entire 26-square-mile facility, migrating inexorably northwest, contaminating groundwater on the edge of Denver and threatening the health of neighboring residents.

Since my visit, the sludge from Basin F has been sucked into large holding tanks, and the residue has now been piled into a huge mound. But the memory of the deadly chemical lake—and its five ghostly predecessors—will always remain for me as a haunting symbol of war's insidious toxic legacy, one as powerful as any I've seen.

Today, only a skeleton crew remains at Rocky Mountain Arsenal. The facility's mission—to manufacture munitions to protect us against a foreign enemy—has now ceased. In the name of defending our national security, however, Rocky Mountain Arsenal has created a different kind of threat to our land, water, air, and to our health.

Beth Gallegos, who lives near the arsenal, was called a "hysterical housewife" in 1985 when she formed a small group called Citizens Against Contamination to address community concern about high levels of solvents and other contaminants that had been found in her town's water. As Gallegos recalls, the group first met opposition not just from the army, but from the EPA, the state health department, and the local water board. Many local officials, she says, were "totally irate" over the concerns her group raised. "At one early meeting," Gallegos recalls, "the head of the local water board drank a big glass of the water to try to prove that nothing was wrong."

When a thousand people attended a meeting about the situation in December 1986, Gallegos says things began to change. Soon the army would make one of its very first admissions that they were "a contributor" to off-base water contamination. Now a rudimentary water treatment plant has been built at the edge of the facility to try to catch the deadly contaminants before they migrate into the town's water, but a multi-billion-dollar cleanup still lies ahead.

Unquestionably, the site presents daunting costs and technical challenges. With such a variety of lethal contaminants to contend with, it is unclear how to handle the polluted groundwater or the estimated 16 million cubic yards of contaminated soil. The most likely scenario calls for much of the soil to be piled into a huge, lined landfill at the arsenal, turning a secret dump site into a legally sanctioned one. The army continues to insist that it will restore the area for unrestricted use, but given the difficulties involved, many observers believe that Rocky Mountain Arsenal, like the Jefferson Proving Ground, lies in jeopardy of being permanently closed off as another national sacrifice zone.

Coming Home

While planning a visit to a military toxic site in a western state some time ago, I spoke to an official from the U.S. Army Toxic and Hazardous Materials Agency. "Why travel all the way out there," she said, trying lightly to deflect attention from the site I hoped to investigate, "the army has a similar problem right in your own town." Although I did not alter my travel plans, her remark stuck with me, and with a colleague, I soon took up her unintended challenge to investigate my local military site.

Granted, my local facility, the Army Material Technology Laboratory in Watertown, Massachusetts, does not compare in scope to Jefferson Proving Ground or Rocky Mountain Arsenal. But as we researched the arsenal, one of the 86 bases Congress slated to close, I learned that 19 separate suspected toxic sites, my backyard's portion of the nation's 20,000, lie less than a mile from my home.

The army dumped toxic and low-level radioactive wastes at this facility, and it continues to burn so-called "depleted" (but nonetheless radioactive) uranium tailings regularly through a smokestack immediately adjacent to an elderly housing complex. Cleaning up this small facility is expected to cost taxpayers as much as $100 million. Compared to many sites, though, we are fortunate: some $50 million has already been pledged toward the effort.

My toxic travels have taught me much about the nation's military toxic waste problem. But with some sort of poetic justice, the contamination at my local facility has been at least as instructive. With help from the local environmental group, we fought a precedent-setting battle to make the army pay for an independent technical consultant to advise us as the cleanup process inches forward. We lost the fight, but earned new allies in the process. Local officials are now so wary of the bungled cleanup assessment, that our town has decided to spend tens of thousands of dollars to hire an independent technical advocate.

As depressing as the overall military toxic picture may be, there is more than a glint of hope as an increasing number of communities around the country begin to fight back. With lessening world tensions and growing public concern for the environment, Congress has also begun to address the military's toxic troubles more responsibly. Currently pending legislation would increase both funding for cleanup and accountability in the environmental restoration process. What is needed now is to blow the lid off the military's decades of secrecy about its toxic problems, and to force greater participation by the public and civilian federal and state agencies, such as the EPA, in the cleanup process, wresting it away from the hands of the military.

Sadly, the chances are good that you too live near a military base. Your community's air and drinking water may also be threatened. Like me, you may justifiably feel anger and outrage about the military's sorry stewardship of your neck of the woods. My outrage remains, but my own struggle against military contamination has taught me that, with increased public scrutiny and a shrinking military infrastructure, we may be able to change current military practices and ensure a careful and thorough cleanup process.

Seth Shulman is a freelance writer and correspondent for Nature. *His forthcoming book about U.S. military toxics is funded in part by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.*

NEED HELP PIECING THE WORLD TOGETHER?

PeaceNet is an indispensable tool. I use it to stay in touch with activists, researchers and publications. I send notes simultaneously around the country at any hour of the day or night.
—Lenny Siegel, Chief Researcher, Military Toxics Network of the National Toxic Campaign Fund

We turned to EcoNet to bridge the geographic distances between our staff. We couldn't have launched this national campaign without EcoNet.
—Michael Stein, Communications Director, National Toxic Campaign Fund

Computers can help you do it. What began in 1986 as PeaceNet has now joined forces with EcoNet and ConflictNet to become the world's most extensive computer network for peace, the environment, social justice and conflict resolution, known collectively as the Institute for Global Communications (IGC). With partner networks in Nicaragua, Brazil, Canada, Sweden, Australia and Britain, more than 7000 users in 50 countries use electronic mail and conferences to **dial locally and act globally.** Gateways connect users to virtually any system in the world, including telex, fax, Internet and Bitnet. Time-zone constraints, phone tag and expensive telephone calls are things of the past. Legislative updates, human rights alerts, international news and political perspectives are all on-line!

PeaceNet's conferences help the international peace community keep track of peace and social justice issues ranging from AIDS and the arms race to Central America and Zimbabwe.

EcoNet works to preserve and sustain the environment with information on everything from recycling and rain forests to Redwood Summer and toxic wastes.

ConflictNet, our newest network, provides information and opportunities for collaboration in the fields of conflict resolution and dispute mediation.

You don't have to be choosy: Signing up for one means you have access to all—at no extra cost. Rates are surprisingly low. After a $15 sign-up fee, the monthly subscription is $10, which includes one free hour of off-peak time (after 6 P.M. and weekends) and phone support. Additional connect time is $5/hour for off-peak and $10/hour for peak time (7 A.M.–6 P.M.). There are two account billing options: (A) Use your credit card, no deposit required; (B) Send a $50 deposit, get billed each month, deposit refundable.

Yes, open my ☐ PeaceNet ☐ EcoNet ☐ ConflictNet account. ☐ Send me more information.

Name: _____

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Bold Acts and the Politics of Survival

By Richard L. Grossman

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JAMES JACKSON CHAINED TO YARDER AT EARTH FIRST! ACTION TO STOP LOGGING IN OREGON'S SISKIYOU NATIONAL FOREST.

Moral imperatives and effective organizing strategies can coincide. I still recall how electrifying it was in 1976 to learn that a handful of people calling themselves the Clamshell Alliance had been dragged off the Seabrook nuclear reactor site by state police. Many of us could sense nuclear protest rising to another level—going beyond choosing "better sites" and making reactors "safer" to a clear and simple "No Nukes." A culture of opposition was forming that linked antinuclear protest to other resistance movements.

The United States has a long, rich history of citizens forcing change, against the will of their government and social institutions. Around the country, ordinary people in ordinary communities are continuing this tradition—confronting myths and institutions, educating and energizing us. They are helping us get beyond the paralysis and complicity generated by the nuclear arms race, planetary poisoning, and increased concentration of wealth. And they do so with bold actions that go beyond the ordinary to shock the complacent, attract the attention of bystanders, and galvanize other concerned Americans. A look at several of these activists reveals the imperatives behind their deeds, as well as the tactical power of such acts.

Smashing the Myths

By 1980, Molly Rush had spent many years working for civil rights and nuclear disarmament. Frustrated by the U.S. government's aggressive nuclear bomb building, she shared the feelings of helplessness and fear experienced by many others. She felt a compulsion "to refuse complicity," to act.

So Rush and seven others, soon to be known as the Plowshares Eight, walked into a General Electric factory in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. With ordinary household hammers, they pounded on nose cones destined to become nuclear missiles, then gave themselves up, were arrested, and jailed.

Despite the lack of press coverage, news of the hammering spread quickly. Molly received thousands of letters, both supportive and critical. Her family and her community were thrown into turmoil.

The decision to take this step was a very difficult one, but once made, Rush felt liberated. She experienced "the incredible freedom that comes from having done everything you can do." She says, "I found strength I did not know was there. I found peace that overflows and heals and quiets my fears, a peace that is not simply mine, but comes from God and is meant to be shared."

"A revelation" is how Molly describes what she felt when she realized that a hammer in the hands of her five-foot, two-inch frame could inflict real and permanent damage upon GE's nose cones. The myth of nuclear weapons as impregnable, beyond the reach or understanding of "ordinary" citizens, was shattered forever. "When the choice is so clear that it's between life and death," she says, "people will choose life."

The action, Rush says, "came to me as a gift, something I couldn't refuse—knowing what I know, loving my kids, hoping for grandchildren." It forced others to think about their government as a nuclear bomb builder and "upholder" of the law. The action confronted issues of property, resistance, morality, and community.

The courtroom trials and appeals of the Plowshares Eight lasted a decade. On April 10, 1990, they received final sentencing. With Anne Montgomery, Daniel and Philip Berrigan, Dean Hammer, Carl Kabat, Elmer Maas, and

John Schuchardt, Rush was sentenced to 23 months' probation, minus the time already served in jail for the action.

The Plowshares Eight moved many steps beyond efforts by the institutional peace movement to cut the military budget a few billion dollars here and there, to build a few less nuclear bombs, to oppose specific weapons systems. They challenged the laws and treaties that legitimize these weapons. "Legal systems and governments bless power. They help define its victims as less than human," says Rush. Seeing their ordinary humanity as their greatest strength against these weapons, the Plowshares Eight have shown others how to see as well.

Earth First!'s Mississippi Summer

"No compromise in defense of Mother Earth!" is the motto of Earth First!, a movement spawned by Edward Abbey's call to ecological sabotage in *The Monkey Wrench Gang*. With timber companies like Maxxam and Georgia Pacific stepping up their slaughter of redwoods, ancient forests, and forest communities, Earth First! took two dramatic steps this spring.

When confronted at a public meeting by a sympathetic logger, organizer Judi Bari renounced tree spiking as a tactic against the corporations, upsetting fellow Earth First! activists. For a movement committed to defending the wilderness by decommissioning the machinery that destroys it, this was a dramatic turnaround. They subsequently organized "Mississippi Summer in the Redwoods," asking people to come to Northern California to save the forests in a summer-long nonviolent civil disobedience campaign.

According to Earth First! organizer Darryl Cherney, confrontational actions are a last stand to save the forests, and a necessary risk. He and Bari were victims of a car bomb assassination attempt in May. "The movement has tried lobbying. For years. For decades. But it hasn't worked. The old growth is just about gone," Cherney says. Only about 5 percent remains.

Cherney is blunt. "We are advocating radical changes in the industry, fundamental changes in the way we run the economy. There are alternate ways to log, to get the wood we actually need. We are demanding these changes—changes which are needed not just in the timber industry, by the way."

Modeled after Freedom Summer of 1964, this summer's direct actions were a call for environmental civil rights. "We chose the name Mississippi Summer deliberately, to provoke," Cherney continues. "Polarizing is a tactic, not just an effect. We need to polarize communities, to encourage a sorting out of opinion.

"Once we have polarized the communities, then we can work to bring people back together around reality, not fiction. We have the potential to make things right. But now we are forcing the issue into everybody's life, because that's where it should be. For democracy to work, everybody needs to be part of the decision making. We can't be dictated to just by Maxxam and the Forest Service," states Cherney.

"We know that alongside mass movements, single acts of an individual can make a big difference. Molly Rush broke new ground, rang a bell, helped people see the truth and get over their fear," says Cherney. "Judi's renouncing of tree spiking was a bold, sweeping gesture. She tackled one of the sacred tenets of Earth First! It's just as difficult for Earth Firsters to give up tree spiking as it is for the timber industry to renounce clear-cutting. Both face great peer pressure. But Judi saw it was time for EF! to take a new direction."

Mike Roselle, one of the founders of Earth First! and former direct action coordinator for Greenpeace USA, advocates both individual and collective action. "Bold acts help groups to bond, free them to figure out what they are about and get them to take risks, to raise their goals," says Roselle. "Bold acts don't have to be 'illegal'. Lois Gibbs has said that one of the most effective things she ever did—and one of the hardest—was to take a petition around her Love Canal neighborhood.

"Environmentalists underestimate their ability to prevail when an issue really comes down to taking sides. When we can express the issue in simple terms—save the forests, save the rivers—*everyone* will be on our side," Roselle believes. "When people step out of their prescribed roles to protest—even a little—they get a new view of society. That new view can be both revealing and empowering. It can drive you to take the next appropriate step."

Organizing by *Our* Rules

Pat Bryant, executive director of the Gulf Coast Tenants' Association, is an organizer of the Great Louisiana Toxics Marches. In the past two years, these marches have followed a route between New Orleans and Baton Rouge, where dozens of giant petrochemical factories spew millions of tons of poisons into the air and water annually, much of it legally. "Our toxics marches were organized by the people who live next to these chemical plants. Many churches and community groups helped to build the marches," says Bryant.

JUDI BARI, EARTH FIRST! ACTIVIST, WITH DAUGHTERS LISA AND JESSI, EIGHT WEEKS AFTER SERIOUS INJURY IN BOMB ATTACK.

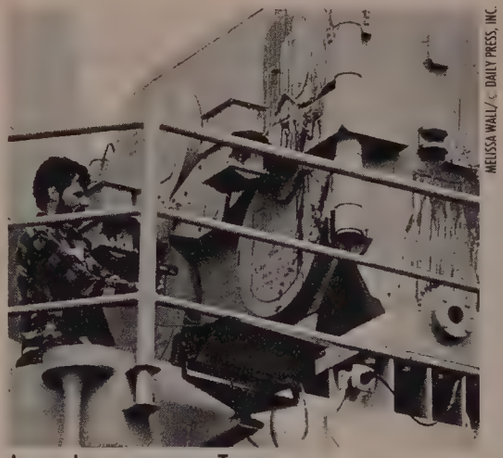
"I learned in the civil rights and freedom movements that it is necessary to challenge oppression," she says. "It's difficult for people in a community to stand up and oppose repression. There will always be

what we called 'accommodationists'—people who say, 'Let's go slow. Let's approach this in a way that does not cause any ripples in the water.'

"We realized we needed to organize and agitate by new rules, new codes—*our* rules, *our* codes," says Bryant. "We saw that confrontation had worked well historically, that in reality, people seeking significant changes in a society did not get those changes by avoiding confrontation, but rather by challenging those in power. "We're following in that path today. Unless we do, those who poison the Earth will poison it into the 21st century, and we'll still be asking the reasons why."

Bryant sees the need for bolder actions and more powerful toxics coalitions. "We went up to the factory gates and demanded: Clean air *now*! Clean water *now*!" she says. Gulf Coast activists are demanding that the chemical companies open their doors to public interest technical advisers and end their pollution-causing production practices. "We've got to put more and more pressure directly on the poisoning corporations," she says. "We hope that our efforts will also move some of the national environmental groups to take stronger stands. The rhetoric from some of those groups has improved lately. Maybe they will begin to feel the urgency as we feel it and act accordingly."

Another toxics activist, Kansan Lauri Maddy, decided that she had suffered illnesses from Vulcan Chemical in silence long enough. In 1988, she handcuffed herself to a chair in her governor's office during a demonstration against toxics at the state capitol. "No one knew I was going to do it," she says. "I was the final speaker and I said, 'It's time for civil disobedience.' Forty people accompanied me."



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ANDREW LAWRENCE HAMMERS TOMAHAWK MISSILE LAUNCHERS ON BOARD THE USS *IOWA*, EASTER 1988, AFTER POURING BLOOD ON THE LAUNCHERS DURING A NUCLEAR NAVY PLOWSHARES ACTION.

Maddy took a vow of silence and handed the governor a note that read, "I have locked myself into your environment like you have locked yourself into mine." She explains, "For one day, I wanted to impose on his environment, as Vulcan Chemical has been imposing on mine. I wanted him to squirm."

"It was a very empowering experience. In the beginning, we were very unsure of ourselves. But we got people to think. It was the first time anyone in our community said or did anything openly against Vulcan," says Maddy. "Vulcan is known far and wide now as a poisoner. A few years ago, the people were afraid to act. Now, we can gather forces at the drop of a hat," Maddy claims. "And people are realizing the interconnections between injustices, seeing that it's one big picture—whether it's nuclear weapons production, murder in El Salvador, or toxic dumps."

Hanging Dirty Linen

Herb Chao Gunther, executive director of the Public Media Center in San Francisco, does not advocate win-win strategies in the struggle for global survival. "We believe there's no such thing as winning. There's only fighting. There will always be people and institutions that destroy," says Gunther.

"You do better at social change when you begin to make enemies and not friends. The role of an activist is to do things that confront people and institutions—name names, hit hard. Most people and groups are not comfortable with this approach. As a result, too many are actively conspiring to compromise with the destroyers. They are undermining our efforts," Gunther claims.

The Public Media Center is on the front lines of public interest advertising. "To us, ads are like dirty linen hung out to dry," Gunther says. "Look at the ads we did with Earth Island Institute: they called for a boycott of two major brands of canned tuna because they killed so many dolphins. The ads went right after the H.J. Heinz Company. The large national conservation groups wouldn't take this on. The government wouldn't act. But soon after the ads appeared, Heinz told Earth Island's David Philips that they'd had enough. They were changing their fishing techniques to prevent negative publicity. Their sales hadn't been affected much. But they didn't want to risk it.

"We also wanted to do some ads for the Earth Day organizers," says Gunther. "We felt it was time to gently remind the environmental movement to look at itself; to see what all the effort, all the money—hundreds of millions of dollars—all the educating

KEN CRUMRINE/BRANDYWINE PEACE COMMUNITY

LEFT TO RIGHT: MOLLY RUSH, DEAN HAMMER, JOHN SCHUCHARDT, AND PHILIP BERRIGAN (FOUR OF THE PLOWSHARES EIGHT) AT A VIGIL ON THE STEPS OF THE GENERAL ELECTRIC NUCLEAR MISSILE PLANT IN PHILADELPHIA BEFORE THEIR FINAL SENTENCING.

had achieved. We wanted the movement to examine its tactics—as part of a process of redefining the movement. But the Earth Day people were not interested," he claims.

"Although Earth Day did radicalize some high school students, it nonetheless was an endorsement of a fuzzy set of values," Gunther continues. "Earth Day served to take away the energy. It didn't encourage people to demand more from the groups they belong to. It didn't make visible the polluters' hidden power. More and more, the national environmental organizations are becoming social control organizations, not social *change* organizations."

A Wrenching Debate

Saul Alinsky, in *Rules for Radicals*, wrote that it is essential for organizers "to avoid being trapped by their own tactics and forced to travel a road not of their own choosing." Most national groups in the peace and environmental movements have not been taking Alinsky's advice.

Consider dirty air, for example. President Bush, congressional leaders in both parties, and the polluters combined to set the agenda for this legislative struggle. They determined what issues and approaches would be raised. The result is a bill (now in House-Senate conference) that would permit continued—and in some cases increased—production of poisons. It relegates citizens to making diversionary arguments over "best available technologies" and the choosing of far-off "deadlines," while giving the Environmental Protection Agency more power to be a buffer between the polluters and the people.

In the spring, I devoted an issue of the *Wrenching Debate Gazette* to the politics of clean air. I urged environmental "leaders" to break away from the demeaning and suffocating process that's so controlled by the polluters and the politicians. Several environmental lobbyists agreed with my conclusions. Even Clean Air Coalition chair Richard Ayres labeled the legislative process "atrocious." But no group was ready to travel its own road.

I'm convinced that if just a few of the national groups had denounced the bill and the outrageous process publicly—instead of remaining complicit in a lie—they could have sparked a successful citizen revolt against the major polluters in industry and government. They *needed* to polarize. They *needed* to expose the polluters and the politicians, including President Bush, as enemies of clean air.

PUBLIC MEDIA CENTER
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Eighteen years ago, Congress first called for fishing fleets to stop killing dolphins. Yet the death toll in the Pacific remained at 100,000 dolphins a year — the largest slaughter of marine mammals in the world.
Now, thanks to you, the tide has turned.
In the most significant news for dolphins since the 1972 Marine Mammal Protection Act , H.J. Heinz Company — owner of Starkist, world's largest tuna company — agreed to stop buying tuna caught "on dolphin" or in deadly mile-long driftnets.
Major competitor Chicken of the Sea has pledged to meet this Starkist Standard. All its tuna products will also be dolphin-safe.
The Starkist Standard was achieved because of the U.S. tuna boycott launched by Earth Island Institute and supported by the ASPCA, the American Cetacean Society, Dolphin Connection, Friends of Animals, the Humane Society of the U.S., the Marine Mammal Fund and the Sea Shepherd Society.
It was closing off the world's richest canned-tuna market to dolphin-killing tuna fleets.
Foreign markets for tuna caught in ways harmful to dolphins are vanishing, too. Canadian, French, Italian and Thai firms, for example, are starting to pass up tuna caught "on dolphin" and buying dolphin-safe tuna instead.
Unfortunately, consumer pressure alone is not enough to guarantee the continuing safety of the world's dolphins. To ensure that others act as responsibly as H.J. Heinz:
■ *All* tuna companies, private labels and foreign tuna exporters must be convinced to meet the Starkist Standard.
■ Federal "dolphin-safe" labeling legislation must quickly pass. FDA monitoring and enforcement are crucial.
■ Finally, there must be a complete federal ban on the practice of setting nets on dolphins.
Tens of thousands of dolphins will be spared this year as tuna fleets respond to bottom-line factors after years of delay.
Unless the Starkist Standard is codified and applied worldwide, however, there is absolutely no hope that dolphins will ever be safe.
We commend H.J. Heinz for its comprehensive agreement. But our deepest appreciation goes to those millions of people who make such startling progress possible.
Keep up the pressure. Thank you.
David Phillips, Director, and David Brower, Chairman
Earth Island Institute
300 Broadway, San Francisco, California 94133
Your tax-deductible contribution will help Earth Island continue its fight on behalf of the dolphins and all marine mammals.

It's not as if they don't have models: Molly Rush and the Plowshares Eight smashed sacred icons of "national security," daring to become the living embodiment of a Biblical dictum trivialized by pastors, politicians, and corporate PR whizzes.

Earth First! changed the debate and aspirations over wilderness, resources, and forest practices in just a decade, by telling the truth and bearing witness at the point of destruction. It has forced the nation to choose sides over the future of our forests and their communities.

The Gulf Coast Tenants' Association, in the lair of the petrochemical industry, is challenging the sacred cow of managerial prerogatives. They want to be part of the decision-making process about chemical production. Lauri Maddy emboldened a Kansas community contaminated by poisonous chemicals, and focused attention on Vulcan Chemical as a major poisoner and ozone destroyer.

The Public Media Center has been naming names in the nation's major newspapers, tackling injustices that few even want to talk about. Their weapon: the truth, graphically displayed.

And there are thousands of other examples of confrontational courage. Among the citizenry in our communities, the ferment against injustice is brewing. We can all intensify that ferment—even the large organizations left over from movements of the past that want to lead but don't want to ripple the waters.

Richard L. Grossman is coauthor of Fear at Work: Job Blackmail, Labor and the Environment, *released this autumn by New Society Publishers.*

Linda Stout
Bringing Peace to the Piedmont

By Leslie Fraser

"Linda Stout is not intimidated by anyone," says Lynn Holbein, a Piedmont Peace Project supporter. Stout's home is a mile from a Ku Klux Klan encampment in the Piedmont region of central North Carolina. Until this spring, her bedroom did double duty as the office of the Piedmont Peace Project (PPP), the area's only progressive voice for peace and social justice. Stout founded the project six years ago as a multiracial, multiclass organization dedicated to using the power of the vote to change national budget priorities. The project has successfully tapped the anger and frustration in North Carolina's Eighth Congressional District, linking military spending to reduced funding for housing, education, health care, and other human needs.

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In no small way, Linda Stout has served as a catalyst for the district's empowerment, while having to fight her own battles with multiple sclerosis, poverty, access to education, and a medical system that refused to provide her family—victims of a near-fatal auto accident—with the care they needed. Turning her struggles outward, Stout has developed the courage and tenacity to fight for those around her. "She's the most courageous person I know," says Holbein.

Growing up in the Piedmont as the daughter of a tenant farmer, Stout is a member of the community she's organizing. It's a rural area of mill towns and farms, known as "the buckle of the Bible belt," where Christian fundamentalists, the Moral Majority, and the Klan dominate local politics. Through PPP, she has done a stunning job of bringing people together—blacks and whites, low-income and working-class, farmers and mill workers—in an area long divided by poverty and racism.

Raised as a Quaker, Stout's faith brought her to the civil rights movement and keeps her in the peace movement. She moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where she worked for a civil rights law firm and started a volunteer draft counseling service. In 1980, she founded the South Carolina Freeze. An astute organizer, many of the community organizing skills she brings to PPP were developed during her five years of work with the Carolina Community Project.

In 1983, Linda moved back to her hometown of Kannapolis to care for her disabled mother, and began working with a black voter registration group, organizing campaigns in eleven counties that were responsible for registering over 30,000 people for the 1984 elections. The success of this campaign led her to form the Piedmont Peace Project as a way to increase participation in the electoral process and influence the military budget.

"I just started trying to find people, primarily through the churches, and talking to people who were interested in justice issues," Stout says. "As people expressed any kind of interest, I would call over to their house and we'd have meetings, kind of like Tupperware parties." But professional organizers told Stout that it was impossible to bring black and white people together in the Piedmont as a political force.

"The original model was not multiracial," says Meg Gage, director of the Peace Development Fund (PDF). "That came early, but it came out of a realization that to play a key role in the voting and legislative process, they had to do outreach in the black community." PDF encouraged Stout and provided seed money for the project. "We had targeted Hefner's district and had reason

to believe that he would move on peace issues if he was lobbied," says Gage. Since PPP's founding, the district's representative, Bill Hefner, has changed his voting record in favor of peace issues from 0 to 83 percent, as rated by the Council for a Livable World.

Jerome Grossman, the Council's president, praises Stout's effectiveness. "She is the ideal grassroots person, because she looks at politics from the point of view of the the grassroots constituency. Her voter registration success is clearly related to her ability to motivate the grassroots and help them realize a sense of their own power. In that sense, she is a model for grassroots activity all over the nation." In less than six years, the group has grown to include 500 members in the eight-county Piedmont and Sandhills district, with a mix of 60 percent black and Native American and 40 percent white representation.

Gage credits the project with having more political savvy than most peace and justice organizations. "They've understood lobbying: the role that congressmen play and the need to tailor their message to them. They've been able to build clout by learning how to play a key role in the voting and legislative process."

"The way we build power is through voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives," says Stout. They have registered over 10,000 people and mobilized over 60,000 people to vote in the polls. "That's a lot of power," she adds. The increase in voter turnout has helped increase the number of black representatives and local officials. "In 1988, we registered 5,000 people and targeted about 30,000 to get out the vote." Stout estimates that PPP helped increase voting by 10,000 ballots in that election, more than double Hefner's margin of victory. "Hefner sees that he wouldn't win if we weren't doing voter turnout," she says.

Stout is not surprised at PPP's viability. She's more concerned that the grassroots pressure necessary to fund human needs won't come from the peace movement unless it broadens its white, middle-class base. "Looking at it from the point of view of a low-income person with a community perspective, if we really want to win on issues like housing and health care, then we're also going to have to address national issues like the military budget. So I tell people in the peace movement that unless they're serious about bringing in low-income people, they're never going to win," Stout says.

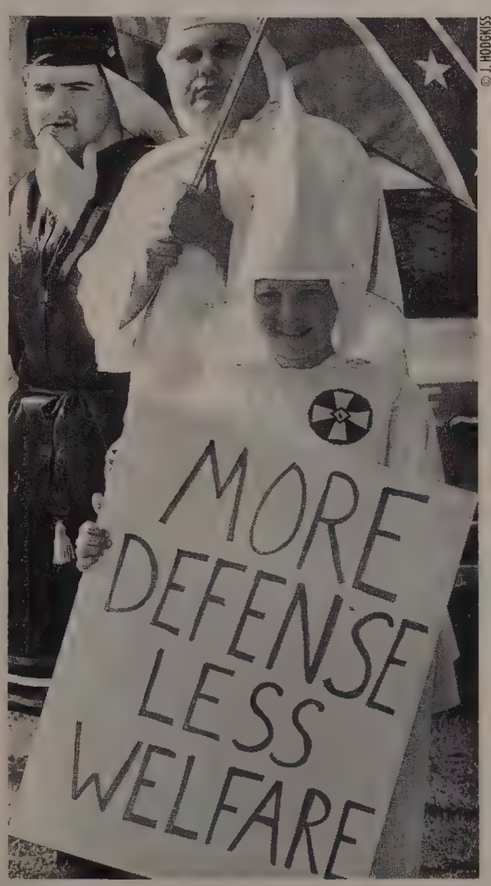
"But I think there's a flip side too: if groups that work on housing and health care and other community issues don't learn to make the bigger connections as well, they're going to end up fighting among themselves for a tiny piece of the pie. There's got to be a coming together," says Stout. "I really do believe that this is the true way to work for peace."

Stout believes that lobbying is also more effective by making those links. "Not only has our congressperson's voting record on peace changed, but his overall voting record on social justice issues has gone from 30 percent to 98 percent," she says. "When he tells us, 'I'm sorry, but I can't do anything for you on housing because there's no money in the budget,' we turn around and say, 'Oh, but you don't have an excuse because of the military budget. You can cut it here.' " PPP members go to Hefner with local concerns, but they always make a connection to the federal budget.

"Low-income people understand these issues instinctively," says Stout. But when PPP surveyed peace groups for educational information about the military budget to hand out in the district, they could not find any. "Most peace materials are written for a college-educated level, and they're written in ways that don't connect to low-income people," says Stout. "Even if they could read and understand the words, they couldn't understand the way the issue is presented because it has no relationship to their lives." About half of the people in Stout's district have finished grade school, with a third-grade average reading level.

So PPP's Materials Project has created a series of leaflets about the ways that military spending affects farmers, the sick and elderly, children, and low-income families. "Local volunteers, some who couldn't read or write, participated in developing our educational materials," says Stout. "We make sure that the pictures tell the story, and that the material connects to the issues that people care about. We speak the same language."

Stout has also brought the project's message outside of the Piedmont. Wearing "Piece Workers for Peace" buttons at the 1989 SANE/FREEZE convention, Stout joined eighteen PPP delegates in bringing the voices of low-income, rural, and nonwhite peace workers to a national audience. At the Housing Now march in Washington, DC, last year, PPP members carried an 8-foot missile "transformer" that turned into a house when its sides were lowered. They marched in tee shirts that read, "Our government is housing its missiles better than it's housing its people."



KLAN DEMONSTRATION AT A PPP EVENT FEATURING REV. JOSEPH LOWERY, PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE.

But the project's success has cost Stout and other PPP members their safety. "Linda has often worked against great odds, be it against class or against resistant people like the Klan," says Don Baker, field operations manager for Harvey Gantt, the first black politician to run for Congress in North Carolina.

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Two years ago, the group spent some time "underground," as Stout describes it, because of intimidation, attacks, and harassment from the Klan. In April 1989, they surfaced again with a public meeting commemorating the assassination of Martin Luther King, featuring speaker Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. About twenty hooded Klansmen and a hundred Klan supporters showed up to demonstrate against PPP.

In July, the group won the 1990 Grassroots Peace Award and $10,000 from the Peace Development Fund for its "stunningly effective" work. The award generated a lot of favorable publicity for PPP in the Piedmont and throughout the South. Author Maya Angelou, California Congressman Ron Dellums, former Charlotte Mayor Harvey Gantt, and Rep. Bill Hefner spoke at the award ceremony.

PPP will use its award money to get out the vote in November. It hopes to register over 5,000 new voters and transport 30,000 people to the polls in November. In the upcoming Senate race, Harvey Gantt is running against Jesse Helms, one of the Senate's most vocal hawks, and summer polls showed Gantt holding a lead.

Though the Klan stayed away from the PDF award ceremony, Stout expects the harassment that followed the event to escalate. "We're planning to file a lawsuit over barriers to voter registration, and they won't like that," she says. Several communities in the district have refused to allow voter registration at social service agencies, public buildings, and other legally permissible sites. PPP also learned that about 100,000 blacks were purged from registered voter lists recently, many of whom were taken to the polls by PPP volunteers in the last election. "It would be illegal in Massachusetts, but they can do it in North Carolina," says Stout, claiming that resistance to the Voting Rights Act is still strong. And as supporter Lynn Holbein says, "There could hardly be a more polarizing issue than a black running against Jesse Helms."

Leslie Fraser is editor of Nuclear Times *magazine.*

European Activists Face New Challenges

By Joergen Dragsdahl

On a sunny morning in early July, hundreds of peace activists enjoyed a boat ride from Finland to the Estonian capital of Tallinn, while Soviet tanks rolled into a town south of the city. Although the events were unrelated, perhaps the activists should have made a connection.

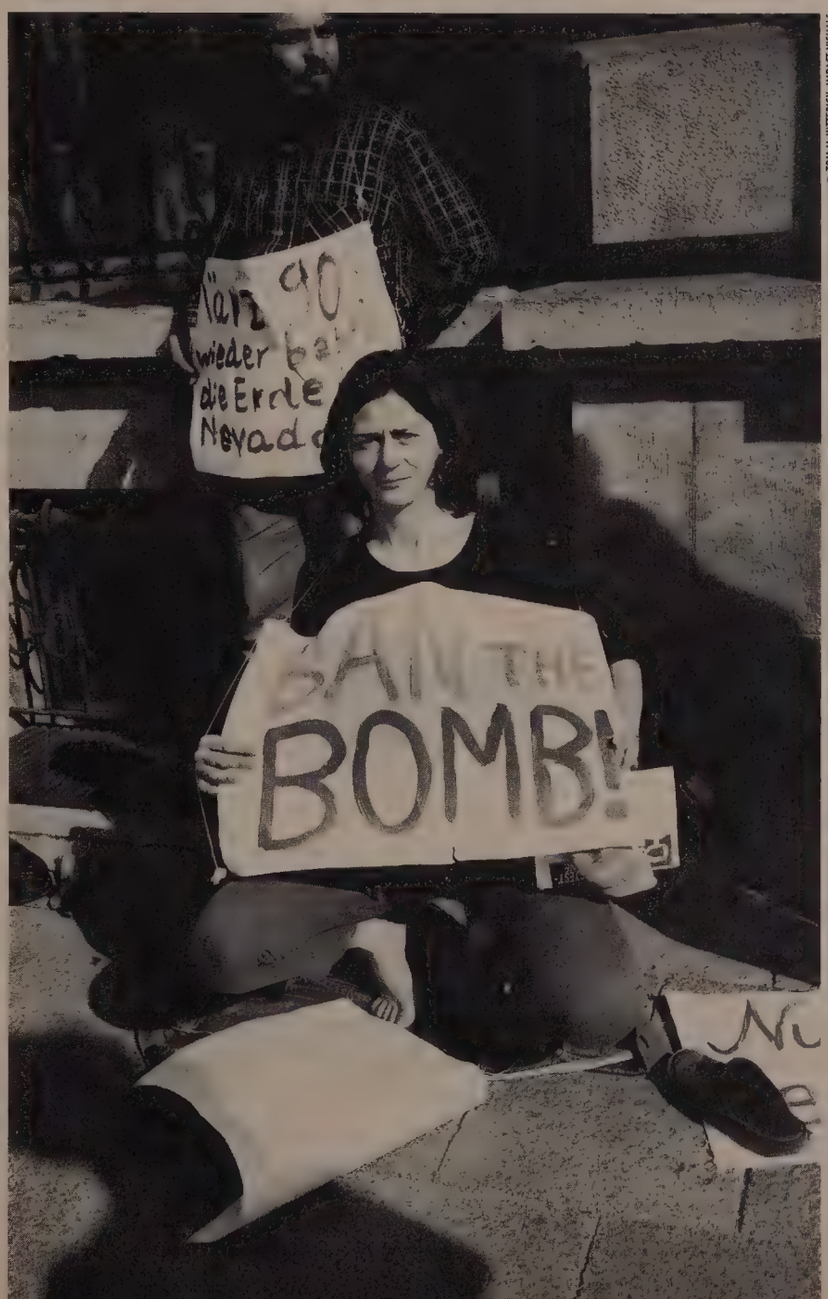
These representatives of the European peace movement were on their way to the second half of the ninth European Nuclear Disarmament (END) convention. Since their 1982 declaration for a nuclear-free Europe from Portugal to Poland, END has met annually to exchange ideas and debate strategy in what has become a political marketplace.

The formation of END eight years ago represented a break with a much older peace movement, discredited by its ties to Soviet-led front organizations. END-affiliated movements pledged loyalty to neither East nor West, but to each other, and sought like-minded allies in dissident circles behind the Iron Curtain. A constant theme at past conventions was strong criticism of official organizations in communist countries, which blocked free travel for independent peace and human rights activists.

The ninth convention was a watershed event, because for the first time interested activists from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were allowed to travel freely. Thus the long-sought dialogue among the like-minded was finally possible. The gathering was also broader, because the old communist front organizations, buffeted by the collapse of their networks, now seek reconciliation with independent compatriots through joint participation.

But obstacles to dialogue and cooperation remain. From the West came the tired veterans of 1980s' mass mobilization. They represented an impressive array of peace groups, political parties, labor unions, and churches, but now they lack a large grassroots base. Today, the masses are moving in the Soviet Union.

Western participants could offer theoretical debate on a wide range of topics, while Soviet and East European activists looked in vain for badly needed, concrete results. From the West, activists expressed high hopes for Gorbachev and his reforms, while the Soviet participants presented the gloomy prospect of civil war, fascism, and military coup. "What will the peace movement in the West do if martial law is introduced in the Soviet Union?" asked Moscow writer Ludmilla Saraskina. "Nothing, is my sad impression."



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END and Nationalism

The tanks south of Tallinn symbolized the new challenges. Like neighboring Lithuania and Latvia, Estonia is one of the Baltic states trying to gain its independence from Moscow. Just before the END convention, an Estonian nationalist organization had called a meeting of the country's World War II veterans. Estonians fought in both the Soviet and German armies, so the meeting was called in the spirit of reconciliation.

AT THE U.S. EMBASSY IN EAST BERLIN, EAST GERMANS PROTEST AGAINST U.S. NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING IN MARCH 1990.

Marju Lauristin, a leader in the Estonian independence movement, described the veterans as people who "in their hearts were fighting for Estonia, but in different armies." But Russian nationalists and the Soviet news media had denounced the veterans' meeting as "fascist." Tanks and paratroopers then moved into the area under the guise of military maneuvers, without asking Estonian authorities for permission.

Too complicated an issue for peace activists to take a stand, or had they just lost the guts for action? In a closing speech, French activist Sylvie Mantrant said: "We should have felt offended. We should have used all our talents in protests. But we did not react." She asked participants to leave their nonexchangeable rubles at the door as a contribution for the repair of roads destroyed by the tanks.

Turmoil in the new, aspiring democracies can be the biggest challenge ever faced by the peace movement. Yugoslav activist Sonja Licht warned that the Soviet Union "may become a black hole, which will suck us all in." Violent nationalism, she said, "should be the main target, and the solution of ethnic conflicts should be the future objective of the peace movements all over Europe."

Peace activists might become some of the most important actors in conflict resolution, Licht argues, being "much faster than the institutions of democracy. Second, they do not have to take into consideration the *raison d'état.* Third, and maybe most important, the peace movement already has a long and valuable experience in transnational, transethical cooperation."

Nationalism did become a key subject for debate. Some Western participants were inclined to oppose all nationalism in favor of internationalism, within a moral context of evil against good. They were rebutted by Marju Lauristin. She told the gathering that fifty years of Soviet occupation have taught Estonians that "without national identity, there can be no struggle against the totalitarian monster." Dutch scholar Gied ten Berge reminded the audience that internationalism has been abused also. In the eastern parts of Europe, it no longer has a positive meaning. As an ideological weapon for communist regimes, "internationalism" stands for imperialist oppression of politics and culture, and centralization of power without any democratic control.

Third world participants widened this debate. A constant refrain in END debates is "a new Europe" and "European identity." Former minister of economic planning in Tanzania, A.M. Babu, declared himself "wary" of a common European home. "Europe has brought us slavery, colonialism, and now poverty. What will a united, stronger Europe bring?" An activist from India, Rhadar Kumar, found it amazing how often "European civilization" crops up in discussions together with "Asiatic barbarism." Although the latter term was used in reference to the Soviet Union, she found the use "rude in front of me."

With reference to immigrants in Europe, Kumar asked, "How do you constitute European identity, while dealing with race? The migrant societies in your midst seem not to inform your identity." And during debate on self-determination for oppressed nations in the East, Kumar contended that "when the majority takes over, it asserts nationality instead of democracy."

Future Directions

Tackling these issues takes a lot of spirit; that, however, was rare during the five days of debate in Helsinki and Tallinn. The prominent British END theorist Mary Kaldor noted "a sense of defeatism, while we should have a sense of celebration." It was, she said, the peace movement that started shaking the Cold War. But now "history is being rewritten in front of our eyes. The peace movement is nowhere; the West has triumphed!"

Kaldor gave what she called "a depressing scenario" for Europe's future if an alternative is not offered by activists. The peace movement thought that "if we ended the Cold War, we would have this wonderful pan-Europe without blocs." But a new economic division will run from Poland's borders and then down through Europe along the old political divide. The western borders of the Soviet Union will be a new military division. And Western Europe will become an inward-looking, consumerist bloc.

END conventions never pass resolutions or make decisions on strategy. From the debate, however, four suggested tracks for the movement's future can be identified.

First, some participants stressed weapons and alliances as the main problem. Although cuts will be made in defense budgets, plenty is left for a leaner, meaner military possessing many sophisticated weapons. Nuclear arms remain. To finance development and new structures for peacekeeping, disarmament and dissolution of both the Warsaw Pact and NATO should be the main task.

Second, many activists—particularly those from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe—stressed democratic reform as a road to peace. In their view, militarism, conservative backlash, and civil strife are the primary concerns capable of spilling over and threatening all of Europe.

A third strategy held that the peace movement should integrate the struggles for disarmament, economic development, human rights, and ecology.

A fourth focus, strong organizational coordination, is also a growing concern. Movements today work within frameworks determined by national institutions, but now a "European state" is developing. Thus the movements should find new structures to "conquer the European dimension of civil society," as John Lambert of Belgium stated.

The debate gave no indication that a common goal exists in the 1990s that is as inspiring and uniting as nuclear disarmament was in the 1980s. Dutch activist Wim Bartels cut through the disputes around END's emphasis: "The peace movement is the movement which should see that social conflicts are resolved nonviolently."

These new challenges to European activists will surely confront them with equal, if not greater, impact at next year's meeting, which will be held in Moscow.

Joergen Dragsdahl is the foreign news editor of the Danish daily newspaper Information.

Tair Tairov
Declarations of Independence

A longtime activist in the USSR, Tair Tairov now heads Civic Peace, a coalition of nongovernmental organizations within the Soviet Union that aims to create more stable and equitable relations in the country. Tairov, 50, earned a doctorate in international law after coming to Moscow from his native Uzbekistan.

For several years he was a major player in the Soviet Peace Committee, an official body, and from 1979 to 1986 he represented the committee in Helsinki, where he established strong links to European peace activists. In 1986 he took a position at the Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), the powerful research institute then headed by Evgeni Primakov, now a top adviser to President Gorbachev. Tairov's criticism of the Soviet Peace Committee led to his resignation and to Primakov's insistence that he leave IMEMO as well. In addition to chairing Civic Peace, he is on the board of the Foundation for Social Innovation and is a freelance lecturer and writer.

Tairov is one of a new breed of Soviet citizens who is creating a "civil society" in the USSR, a space between the official organizations of the state and party and the individual activist. It was these voluntary political and cultural associations that played such a decisive role in the revolutionary changes in Eastern Europe, but in the Soviet Union civil society is less mature. As the Communist Party and official bodies lose influence, however, new social and political forms are needed. In a country facing sharp ethnic divisions and economic deprivation, organizations like Civic Peace that emphasize social democracy may be the country's best hope for moving peacefully toward a new society.

John Tirman spoke with Tair Tairov in Moscow.

NT: *What is the purpose of Civic Peace?*
Tairov: To stop sources of hatred within our own society. Peace in the family, within the community, and between ethnic, national groups. We don't stick to any ideology. We want *normal* life. The peace we have today is a *state* peace, one that for 72 years has been imposed by the army, by the secret police.

NT: *Many in the West see the situation in the Soviet Union as deteriorating rapidly—the economy in disarray and ethnic strife growing. What's your assessment?*
Tairov: I agree that the situation will worsen. It is explosive in many areas of the Soviet Union between nationalities. There is also a struggle for power everywhere. And there is no possibility of solving the economic and social problems soon.

We have to prepare for a long period of tolerance. Civic Peace tries to establish small networks of people to provide such tolerance. For example, we approached Azerbaijanis and Armenians through social democracy groups, offering conciliatory teams. In this we had advice from the American group Beyond War.

I don't see any easy solutions. Things are unpredictable. The Communist Party has no perspective on this. But it will be another few years before it disappears. The party won't survive; perhaps it will change its name, as it did in Hungary.

NT: *Activists in the United States have been very supportive of Gorbachev's disarmament initiatives, and indeed credit him with ending the Cold War. And his internal reforms, especially* glasnost, *are widely applauded. Yet Gorbachev's popularity in the USSR is fragile. From your perspective, why is that so?*
Tairov: Gorbachev deserves a lot of credit for his foreign policy. On that, he has been very good. But he wants to keep the whole empire together. On internal matters he lacks imagination. He has said we gathered this state over one thousand years, and we won't let it disintegrate. That is an imperial view. He has not been able to offer a more pragmatic policy. We will see more conflict between the center and the provinces.

NT: *Yet the loss of Gorbachev—if he resigns, or is ousted—is an unsettling prospect for many of us. Does that possibility worry you?*
Tairov: I think it's wrong to see everything depend on one man. If Gorbachev disappears, the reforms are not reversible. No one can establish a conservative, right-wing regime. Now that Eastern Europe is "lost," nothing can reverse to how it was before. Basically, there is no other alternative. There is tremendous pressure for change.

New leaders will emerge. Gorbachev has done his job. But he has brought the nation to a deadlock: he himself has tied his hands on the Baltic situation. He deserves credit, but he is not the only possibility. We need to be even more democratic.

NT: *What about Boris Yeltsin? Is he a viable alternative to Gorbachev?*
Tairov: Yeltsin would give more freedom to the republics. On this, he is a hundred years ahead of Gorbachev.

NT: *Some fear that the nationalist movements are potentially dangerous, that disintegration of the USSR is something the West should help to prevent. Do you agree?*
Tairov: If a republic wants to be its own nation, let it be. The republics won't fly off to other galaxies. They'll be here, they want a confederation.

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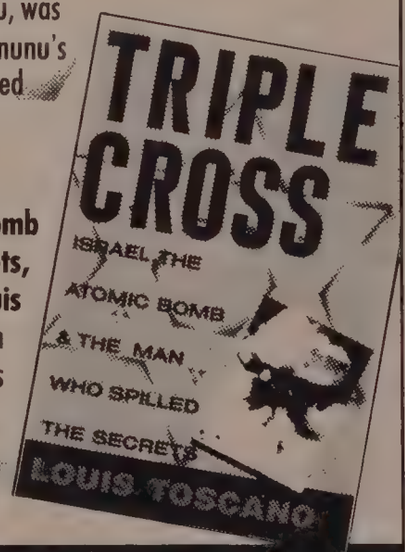

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NT: *But we've heard it said here in Moscow that civil war is a genuine possibility.*

Tairov: Some people say that if the Lithuanian situation deteriorates or other such things happen, there will be civil war. That's blackmail. I don't think there will be civil war. That is nineteenth century thinking.

The only colonialism in the world after South Africa is in the Soviet Union. I'm sure the republics will stay together. There will not be any military instability. There is more benefit to Russia, too, if the republics are free.

NT: *Many regard the changes in Eastern Europe as a precursor to, or even a model for, reforms in the Soviet Union. Do activists here regard Eastern Europe in such ways?*

Tairov: There isn't much knowledge spread about what's happening in Poland and Czechoslavakia. We are in turmoil looking for a new model, and it will take a little while. There is a tremendous mixture of goals. Slowly, democracy will emerge.

Democracy and freedom are the goals. And groups like Civic Peace are opening a small space for independent action.

NT: *Does Civic Peace have working relations with Western peace activists?*

Tairov: We are made up of some fifteen organizations, such as the Moscow Trust Group and Memorial, and many of these have established relations outside. Yes, we have good links to Finland, with West German and British groups. We are looking for contacts with Sweden and Spain. We have not made many contacts with Americans. Unfortunately, U.S. groups want ready-made structures—hotels, cars, et cetera. The Soviet Peace Committee is very cozy for them.

NT: *You were a prominent leader in the Soviet Peace Committee. Why did you leave the committee?*

Tairov: The Soviet Peace Committee was often stupid, not reflecting the changing situation here and abroad. The committee was the only institution in the Soviet Union where *perestroika* never took place.

Crusading Against Nuclear Proliferation

By Miranda Spencer

The Cold War has ended, democracy is busting out all over, and the peoples of the world will live happily ever after. Right? Not necessarily. Now, "we have to find a way to live with nuclear balkanization," according to Gary Milhollin, director of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control. Milhollin, a Washington, DC-based researcher, has been called a nuisance and a crusader, and was suggested for a Nobel Peace Prize. He thinks that nuclear war may be more likely than ever, now that several developing and volatile nations possess nuclear weapons or are able to obtain them.

"One of the important factors in the total risk is how many fingers are on the trigger," says Milhollin. No matter how many bombs they've got, each superpower has only one finger on the trigger. "That world is safer than a world in which there are fewer bombs overall, but a lot more fingers on the trigger."

Despite the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), signed in 1968, nuclear proliferation continues. Certain loopholes make it easy to divert materials intended for peaceful projects, such as nuclear power, to other nations and other uses, says Milhollin. So he has mounted a crusade to halt the spread of nuclear weapons into the third world. As a University of Wisconsin law professor and former Nuclear Regulatory Commission judge with a degree in engineering, Milhollin is uniquely suited for the task.

Milhollin's method: track the transactions of materials that could be used to make nuclear weapons—such as heavy water (deuterium oxide, which creates the chemical chain reaction that ignites a nuclear explosion), bomb triggers, and rocket motors—expose the perpetrators, and call for action by their governments. His motive: to force governments to change. "A private operator can be more influential than the State Department," he avers, because the U.S. government won't publicly embarrass foreign nations with whom it has diplomatic relations.

While diplomats are pursuing aid packages and other "constructive engagement," Milhollin explains, a mini-arms race is simultaneously and surreptitiously mounting. He calls proliferation "a pattern of fear." Countries such as China, Israel, Libya, Pakistan, and African nations "don't get the bomb for conquest," he said in a documentary that recently aired on Wisconsin television. "They get it because they fear somebody else is going to get it first."

In the current climate of what Milhollin calls "regional insecurity," preexisting tension and instability could trigger a nuclear confrontation. For example, developing nations, particularly those in South Asia, might use the bomb against each other. "If India and Pakistan started feuding over Kashmir," says Milhollin, "they're going to have to decide within 24 hours whether to use the bomb or lose it."

Worse, as in the case of the Middle East, where the United States and the Soviet Union may be allied to rival states, a nuclear threat may suck in the superpowers. More chilling still, "extremist" countries may seek revenge against the United States. "There would be no guarantee they wouldn't bomb New York or Washington as a deterrent to another bombing such as the U.S. strike against Libya."

In a July 29, 1990, article in the *New York Times*, published just days before Iraqi President Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait and began his siege in the Persian Gulf, Milhollin warned of Iraq's belligerence and its plans to build atomic bombs. The U.S. Commerce and State Departments are supporting IBM in its negotiations to sell a supercomputer to Brazilian scientists who are developing nuclear weapons technology for Iraq and Brazil. Iraq's nuclear capabilities were made public earlier this year after the sale of nuclear bomb triggers to Iraq from a Massachusetts firm was stopped as the shipment went through England.

Tracking Nuclear Business

Global dynamics aside, Milhollin views proliferation primarily as an import-export problem, and it's from this vantage that he attacks it. Once technology is in the marketplace, "there's no way to put a circle around it," he points out. "If you teach someone how to run a reactor for electricity, he knows how to run it to make bombs." And there has been no penalty when someone breaches the nonproliferation treaty.

As long as the demand for weapons materials exists, there will be people who will trade in them, says Milhollin. And in this import-export business, private companies as well as individual entrepreneurs are often the intermediaries. From the point of view of these brokers, trade in heavy water spells megatons of money.

Some sales are transacted without a license, while some are licensed improperly. This makes sales difficult enough to monitor, and the effects of such deals are often not felt until three to five years later. Black market trade is also easy. "All you need is a phone, a fax, and no sense of morality," Milhollin says. And it is to the Western nations' advantage not to halt their legitimate sale of high-tech equipment, since it's seen as good for the economy. In fact, Western nations—particularly West Germany—are proliferator nations' main suppliers.

So the Wisconsin Project's day-to-day operations involve stalking the details and piecing together the proliferation puzzle. That means combing public records and government documents. Pursuing leads involves a con-

stant stream of transoceanic phone calls and visits with agencies, public officials, and foreign embassies. The information is not even classified, and often comes from industry sources. "It's their job to know who's selling what to whom because it's a competitive business," he observes.

Milhollin's most productive network has been the press, with whom he shares a cooperative relationship. "They use me as a sort of clearinghouse," he says. "They have their own sources," he explains. "I will know 75 to 80 percent of a story, but I can't do much with it because I don't have the time to find out the other 20 to 25 percent. If I get stymied, they can take it the rest of the way." His contacts include Michael Gordon of the *New York Times*, Scott Armstrong, formerly of the *Washington Post*, and other top correspondents. These people are on the inside and can broach a pressing topic with their editors.

Once he completes a damning dossier, he routes it to the press, seeking coverage by either contacting reporters directly, or writing articles and op-eds himself: "If I have something hot, I just call and say, 'I have something you might be interested in knowing about.'" Periodicals in which Milhollin's work has appeared, or in which he is quoted as an expert, include *Foreign Policy*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Defense*, and *Foreign Affairs Weekly*, and international papers—publications read by influential people.

His articles have appeared in the nation's "papers of record," bearing eye-catching titles such as "Asia's Nuclear Nightmare/The German Connection" and "Why Are We Helping The Third World Go Nuclear?" He credits his publishing success to timing—"being aware of what people want to read about"—and credibility. "You have the quality of what you've written and your reputation."

Milhollin views proliferation primarily as an import-export problem.

Creating bad press for proliferators is the linchpin of Milhollin's efforts. "Governments are sensitive to media pressure. They just hate it. So do companies," Milhollin says. He gives the example of his latest project, halting the sale of U.S. supercomputers to Israel and Brazil. "The main reason they are being seriously considered for export is because nobody knows about the issue. If they became publicly known and publicly debated, the government would not have the courage to approve them." As of June, Milhollin predicted that he has prevented or at least stalled the U.S. sale of supercomputers to Israel, but fears that sales to Brazil will go through.

Nuclear Laundering Redressed

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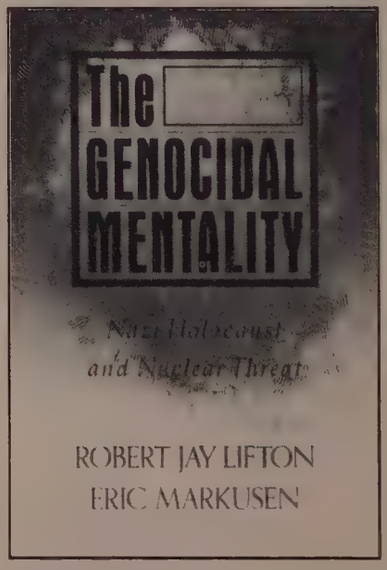

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redressing—wayward technology and other breaches of treaty and sanity, sometimes for the first time. Perhaps the most dramatic case (the subject of a recent *60 Minutes* segment), involved the corralling of the late Nazi arms broker Alfred Hempel.

Hempel, a German army officer during World War II, has been a principal supplier of nuclear materials to third world "wanna-bes," according to the CIA. He has supplied Argentina, India, Israel, and South Africa with low-enriched uranium and heavy water.

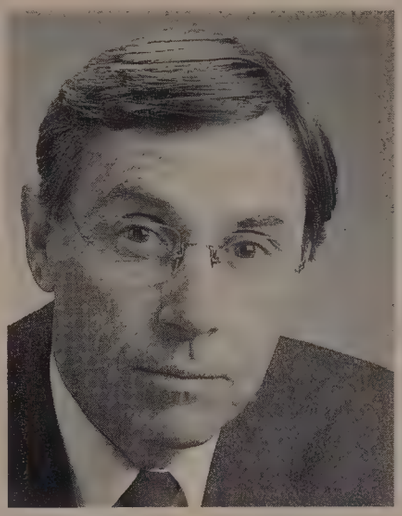
Enter Milhollin, who was able to uncover a "nuclear laundering" scheme. Hempel exploited a close relationship with the Soviet Union and China that allowed him to arrange trade in nuclear materials under the guise of legitimate business, and then route the materials through Switzerland and other neutral nations. Hempel's operations alone allowed India to build about fifteen nuclear weapons a year and tripled South Africa's nuclear capability, Milhollin claims.

Milhollin then turned up State Department documents indicating that the West German Economic Ministry had known about Hempel since 1981, but was too probusiness to perform more than a cursory check of his company. It had simply ignored a slew of U.S. government communiqués urging action.

Milhollin recalls that after he published a research report on Hempel in the newspaper *Der Spiegel*, the country's opposition parties invited him to testify before the West German parliament at a series of investigations on nuclear crimes. His testimony led both to charges that West Germany had violated the NPT and to a second audit of Hempel's company, which this time unearthed some of the illegal transfers.

More recently, Israel agreed to return 10.5 tons of heavy water purchased from Norway for use in reactors that Israel subsequently transferred to make nuclear bombs. Milhollin became personally involved in the case, advising the Norwegian parliament to negotiate with Israel. "That was a real victory for us, because without the Wisconsin Project, the issue never would have come up," he maintains.

Other project coups include the 1988 exposé of the Norwegian sale to a Westt German company of 15 tons of heavy water that was diverted through Switzerland to the Middle East and disappeared into the black market. The project also publicized the propensity of West German firms to supply the third world with equipment—in particular, selling a multimillion-dollar uranium conversion plant, steel, electronics, and a tritium-producing reactor to Pakistan, then later helping rival India to obtain heavy water (with help from Alfred Hempel). And in July 1990, the project published information about IBM's attempts to sell a supercomputer that would help develop missiles for Iraq and Brazil.



GARY MILHOLLIN

More so than governments, the press counts on the Wisconsin Project. "Proliferation is so arcane that if you don't have a specialist, the bureaucracy will run you over," Scott Armstrong says. "Because of Gary Milhollin, we understand nuclear weapons better than conventional ones."

Clearly, Milhollin's juridical technique of gathering evidence, putting international scofflaws on the stand in the court of world opinion, and pursuing justice is effective. Other think tanks and activists should note the unique relationship he has built with the authorities, as a kind of annoying but crucial adviser—"someone who sometimes advances their interests and sometimes doesn't," as Milhollin says. Wielding facts, not just positions, he's able to maintain access to the powerful. He's useful to them—doing what they have neither the resources nor the freedom to do.

"I know my name comes up frequently," Milhollin says. "They've had witch hunts to find out who's been talking to me. Sometimes foreign governments come and complain about me to the State Department, but there's been no effort to quiet me down. It would wind up on the front page!" Nor has he had security or sabotage concerns, noting, "We have an ordinary lock on our door."

Milhollin is now viewed less as an opponent of the Bush administration than he once was, but he disagrees with policymakers on how to handle proliferation issues. He says the administration hasn't been willing to take the initiative, much less make the necessary crackdown. "I'd put proliferation a lot higher on our list of priorities than the State Department does," he says. "This administration has been practically brain dead on this issue. It doesn't want to think about Japan getting the bomb. It's massive denial."

National Security versus Commercial Interest

To halt proliferation, the superpowers must wield whatever clout they still possess, starting in their own backyards. "The U.S. has been the biggest producer and exporter of high technology in the world. Its export policies are necessarily the standard by which other countries can be judged," says Milhollin. Also, "if the Soviets are selling to everybody, the Warsaw Pact nations aren't going to restrain themselves."

First, we must reevaluate the wisdom of selling supercomputers and other materials to proliferator nations. "It's a question of risk," Milhollin points out. "All the institutions that want a supercomputer are either in the process of making nuclear weapons or ballistic missiles. It's not as if some benign institution wants to import these machines for civilian purposes." Nuclear export policies, he says, should be keyed to need. "We've been supporting Israel with foreign aid. We could and should cut them off to force them to give up their bomb."

Second, Milhollin wants Congress to act, exposing records of the sale of sensitive items to public scrutiny. De-

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spite their potential for nuclear proliferation, these transactions are closed, to protect U.S. trade positions. "It's a question of national security versus commercial interest," he says. "I think national security ought to prevail."

Obstacles notwithstanding, the Wisconsin Project—with its growing prestige and bank of knowledge—is increasingly influential. Could the individual approach be effective in researching and affecting other areas of arms control? Milhollin says yes, but cautions, "for a private individual to have much of an impact takes a tremendous amount of work."

Milhollin's vision of work to be done in the next decade centers on what he calls nuclear balkanization. "The world is not looking predictable, but we've still got the bomb," he states. As European nations become more independent, "there's going to be less possibility of our influencing their exports through diplomatic pressure."

The project is currently exploring whether trade with the East bloc will lead to a diversion of critical technology for nuclear weapons to the third world through that region. A united Germany may pose a particular threat because of its dominance in Europe. "NATO is going to wither away, and Germany is going to do as it damn pleases," says Milhollin. "It's going to ignore, more than ever before, other countries' complaints about its export behavior."

However, as Milhollin sees it, this chaotic danger may well improve relationships between the superpowers through cooperation in reducing nuclear proliferation. To exploit the shifting landscape, Milhollin advocates taking a tough economic stance to forestall further proliferation. "We ought to get the East Europeans to clean up this behavior as a ticket to Western affluence." Moreover, sanctions should be sharp: "Let countries know that if they get nuclear weapons, they'll give up all trade and aid with the rest of the world." This wallet-wise method will work, he says. "Who wants to freeze in the dark hugging an atomic bomb?"

Miranda Spencer is a freelance writer from the New York area who frequently contributes to Nuclear Times.

Creative Conflict Resolution

By Tracey Cohen

When peace education made its way into the schools in the early 1980s, conservatives were quick to attack it as leftist propaganda. Among the complaints: teaching materials lacked historical context, contained one-sided criticism of the United States, and promoted pacifism and unilateral disarmament. Even conflict resolution—which aims to teach people to solve personal disputes nonviolently—was attacked. Critics argued it misled children about the relationship between interpersonal and international conflict.

Right-wing sniping aside, teaching peace is not only a good idea but a necessity in an ever-more violent society. But the attitude in some schools, elementary and junior high schools in particular, has changed. Increasingly, educators have come to see that teaching conflict resolution, with its focus on interpersonal and intergroup relations, is more appropriate than teaching about nuclear weapons and superpower dynamics. Consequently, over 300 schools across the country have established conflict resolution and student mediation programs.

One of the largest and most successful of these programs is New York City's Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP), which began five years ago with twenty teachers in three schools. This year the program will have 1,000 teachers and over 30,000 students participating in 70 schools citywide. This rapid expansion, say organizers, is the result of increasing demand for the program and evidence of its success.

RCCP is the product of a unique partnership between Educators for Social Responsibility-Metropolitan Area (ESR-Metro), the New York City Board of Education (Office of Health, Physical Education, and School Sports), and participating community school boards.

"The closeness of the collaboration is quite unusual," says Tom Roderick, executive director of ESR-Metro. "It is often hard for community organizations to get into schools and work effectively because they don't always understand the culture of the school. But as educators, we have understood what people in the schools have needed."

Both Roderick and Linda Lantieri, who coordinates RCCP at the Board of Education, have a proven track record in education in New York City. Roderick worked for fifteen years as a teacher and administrator in city schools before coming to ESR. Lantieri has also been a teacher and administrator as well as a professor of education at Hunter College. She was working on innovative curricula—including family living, child abuse, and suicide prevention—at the Board of Education's Division of Curriculum and Instruction before assuming responsibility for peace education.

At the core of their program is a 300-page teaching guide for elementary school children. Designed to be used as early as kindergarten, the curriculum is organized around themes such as peace and conflict, communication, creative conflict resolution, multiculturalism, and social responsibility. Teaching techniques include group discussions, role playing, writing exercises, noncompetitive games, and arts and crafts.

Dovetailing with the curriculum is a student mediation program for older elementary and junior high school students. Established in 1987, the student mediation component trains carefully selected groups of students as school mediators. The objective is to facilitate a process for resolving conflicts peacefully. Sporting brightly colored tee shirts, pairs of mediators patrol the school cafeteria or playground. When a dispute arises, the mediators offer their services, which rely heavily on the active-listening and problem- solving skills they acquired during their training. Disputants (as the contending parties are called) are free to accept or decline mediation, but most welcome the help.

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN

Because it requires a considerable investment of human resources and funds, a student mediation program is introduced into a school only after the core

curriculum has been used for some time (at least one year) and participants are thoroughly fluent in its concepts. Currently, nine New York City schools have student mediation programs, with twenty to fifty mediators each. (The intent is to train as many students as possible, since research indicates that the greatest impact of the program is on the mediators themselves.)

TOM SULLIVAN

"One of the things we try to stress is the need to make a long-term commitment," says Roderick. "With a mediation program, you don't give kids a couple of days of training and tee shirts and say 'good luck and good bye.' You need to work with the mediators. And you're continually solving new problems to make the program work."

Both the mediation component and the curriculum have received consistently high marks. Last year, Metis Associates performed an idependent assessment. The educational consulting firm concluded that RCCP is having an "overwhelmingly positive impact on participants." About 70 percent of the teachers surveyed reported that children were demonstrating less physical violence in the classroom. Sixty-three percent observed less name-calling and verbal abuse, and over 77 percent saw more caring behavior among their students.

For many teachers, the results are subtle but profound. "It just hits you once in a while," says Joel Brooks, who teaches sixth grade at P.S. 261 in Brooklyn. "You can see changes in individuals who say, 'I didn't fight, I walked away instead,' or 'I talked.'"

Students' observations also support the effectiveness of the program. "I used to be a really violent kid," says one young mediator in a taped interview. "I used to fight a lot, and every day I used to come home from school with scratches and bruises. After peace education, I've learned more about thinking things over rather than fighting. I've changed a lot."

The form as well as the content of the program accounts for its success. Traditional relationships involving authority figures and subordinates are altered by the curriculum's workshop structure. Students participate in setting agendas and settling disputes, rather than having adults impose solutions. As a result, students and teachers interact more. There is also more interaction between teachers as they share strategies and compare experiences. And RCCP coordinators have depended on input from teachers in developing the program, making it a truly collaborative effort.

As word of the program's success spreads, schools around the country have begun to look at RCCP as a model for developing their own creative conflict resolution programs. In Minneapolis and New Orleans, for example, Educators for Social Responsibility is collaborating with schools to introduce conflict resolution into the curriculum. The Gibbs International School in Little Rock, Arkansas, has received RCCP's introductory training, and in Anchorage, Alaska, sixty teachers and six principals have been trained in the program. Plans are underway to include more Anchorage schools and to pilot the student mediation component where the curriculum is already well established.

"Since we're doing such pioneering, groundbreaking work, we've been receiving calls from all parts of the country, as well as the world," says Lantieri. "Few people would deny we need these skills." Although becoming a national model was not the original intent, she says that the experience in Alaska demonstrates that the program is widely applicable elsewhere.

With its rapid growth, however, Lantieri and Roderick are both anxious that people not see the program as a panacea. Violence, they maintain, has many causes, including poverty and drug abuse. "We're concerned that sometimes people see conflict resolution as a way to avoid dealing with issues of justice," says Roderick. "In order to have a world of peace, of course, you need to have a world of justice."

Nor is the program a "quick fix." Teachers report that it takes months for them and their students to integrate the concepts of conflict resolution into their lives so that attitudes and behavior change.

If changing behavior and reducing violence in the schools are RCCP's immediate goals, where does the program fit in with peace education? Does the program, which was originally called the Model Peace Education Program, have a broader context?

Good conflict resolution skills are important in the struggle to create a more equitable society, Roderick notes. With better skills, the people in disparate social change groups could forge more powerful alliances and work more successfully in coalitions.

And the curriculum itself does venture into the realm of oppression, "isms," and struggles for social change. In a unit on equality, for instance, students in grades three through six are introduced to the concepts of racism and sexism and are asked to think critically about their causes. A unit on peacemakers includes discussions of individuals and organizations working for peace and social justice, making connections between issues such as racism and poverty, and describing strategies such as nonviolent civil disobedience.

Ultimately, RCCP is about empowering young people with the skills and sense of responsibility for creating their future. "We want people to be concerned about the world beyond themselves," says Roderick, "and to be engaged actively in making the world a better place."

Tracey Cohen is a freelance writer living in Highland Park, New Jersey.

Tennessee Coalition Tackles the Federal Budget

By Verna M. Fausey

"Did you put a stealth bomber on your shopping list?" asks a report from the Tennessee Alliance for Strong Communities (TASC). "Well, you just bought one."

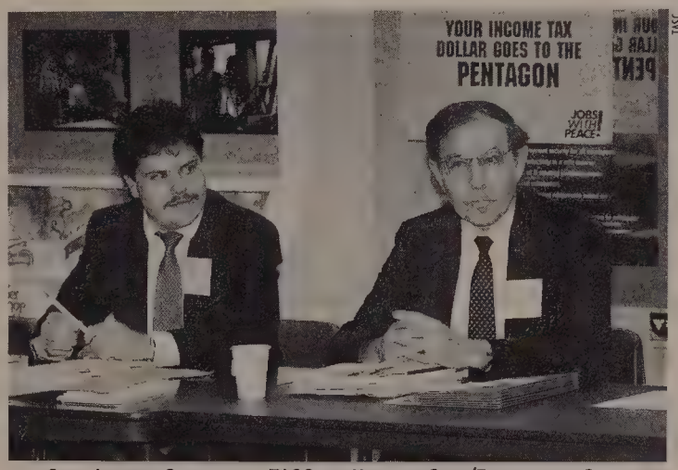
Tennessee taxpayers send $4.7 billion annually to the Pentagon—the cost of nine stealth bombers, according to TASC. That amount could have provided Tennessee with 10,000 new teachers, built 2,000 new public housing units, cleaned up the Oak Ridge nuclear weapons complex and the state's rivers, added needed funds to numerous other domestic programs—and "still have almost one-half billion dollars left over," TASC claims.

Shelby County, which includes Memphis, sent $900 million to the Department of Defense. Nashville contributed approximately $600 million in taxes—about the same size as the city's budget.

These are some of the findings Tennesseans have researched and put to use in the past year. Until last autumn, public interest groups across Tennessee were waging separate battles against the effects of military spending on community needs. Now they have a statewide coalition calling for new budget priorities.

Paul Slentz, past coordinator of Nashville SANE/FREEZE: Campaign for Global Security, saw the need for such an organization after attending the 1988 SANE/FREEZE national congress. At the conference, delegates voted to focus on shifting the federal budget from military to human needs. Subsequently, Nashville SANE/FREEZE adopted the national budget as a priority in January 1989. "More and more, it seemed that the budget was the leverage to affect the arms race," says Slentz.

In May 1989, Ira Shorr, director of the SANE/FREEZE Peace Economy Campaign, and Greg Speeter of the National Priorities Project led a southeast regional workshop in Nashville on the effects of defense spending on domestic programs. "Local planners tried to go beyond the traditional peace community and invited people in service organizations to attend," says Slentz. Speeter and Shorr taught over sixty representatives from labor, peace, and human services organizations how to research and write reports about the impacts of federal military spending on state and local programs, which may provide the best model for attacking the bloated Pentagon budget.



LEFT: CHRIS ATWOOD, COORDINATOR, TASC AND NASHVILLE SANE/FREEZE. RIGHT: GORDON BREHM, CO-CHAIR, MID-SOUTH JOBS WITH JUSTICE, AND HOST OF THE TOWN MEETING.

Joining Forces

After the workshop, SANE/FREEZE felt that its Nashville affiliate was capable of taking the lead in this effort. The appointment of Sen. James Sasser (D-TN) as chair of the Senate Budget Committee gave an additional impetus, and the Tennessee Alliance for Strong Communities was formed in the summer of 1989. A core group of Tennesseans agreed to work on budget campaign strategies and to prepare a report on how Tennessee's tax dollars are spent.

Their effort received a boost from national SANE/FREEZE president William Sloane Coffin, who told the statewide coalition that disarmament, environmental restoration, and economic justice are the issues of the day, and that reducing defense spending helps solve the other two problems. "A vision without a task is but a dream," said Coffin. "A task without a vision is drudgery. But a vision with a task is the hope of the world."

Using Coffin's advice as a motto, TASC launched its campaign at a statewide meeting in September 1989 at First Baptist Church-Capitol Hill, a congregation active in civil rights. The steering committee includes representatives from the state's nine congressional districts plus nine different interest areas, including labor, housing, peace, and the environment. Committees work on budget research, public education, outreach, and economic conversion.

"We realized the unique opportunity Tennesseans have to affect the quality of life for the entire nation. As individuals, we felt obligated to do something," says TASC chair Patti George. "Forming this coalition was our way of joining our voices to demand the kind of changes Tennesseans want and need."

As part of its national spending priority, Nashville SANE/FREEZE donated its office and some staff time to TASC, and its current coordinator, Chris Atwood, also serves as TASC's coordi-

nator. Because of its work in initiating and supporting the Alliance, the Nashville group received the Local Organizing Award at SANE/FREEZE's 1990 national congress.

TASC receives funding from foundations, individuals, and endorsing organizations. By July 1990, thirty-nine organizations had joined, including hunger, labor African-American, church, peace, environmental, and women's groups.

TASC

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: PATTI GEORGE, CHAIR, TENNESSEE ALLIANCE FOR STRONG COMMUNITIES (TASC); MARCIA MCDONALD, RESEARCH COMMITTEE CHAIR, TASC; LOUISE MORRIS, DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT, NASHVILLE SANE/FREEZE; JODI BUSHDIECKER, CHAIR, INTERIM LOBBYING COMMITTEE, AND A STUDENT AT VANDERBILT DIVINITY SCHOOL.

Setting Tennessee's Priorities

One of the coalition's major efforts was a report, "How the Federal Government Spends Tennessee's Tax Dollars," released on January 31, 1990, at press conferences in Nashville, Chattanooga, and Memphis. "At a time when Tennessee's unemployment rate measured above the national average, the federal response was to cut job training by 63 percent," the report said. "Now only 2 percent of those eligible for job training programs are served.

"Tennessee's portion for the Trident ($60 million) could have produced 1,300 homes for families," according to the TASC report. "The state's share ($23 million) for the MX missile could have helped 5,000 children in day care."

Several TASC volunteers regard the state report, which was completed with the help of the National Priorities Project, as the most significant activity to date. "It shows concretely how restoring federal funds to human needs, while reducing spending in military hardware, will benefit the state," says Patti George. The alliance is now preparing local reports for Memphis, Chattanooga, Jackson, Knoxville, Nashville, and the Franklin-Grundy County area.

"TASC is one of the better projects in the country," says SANE/FREEZE's Shorr. "It was the first to complete a state report." He adds, "It is a pleasure to see the growth of TASC and its strong commitment to the effort."

In addition to the Tennessee report, SANE/FREEZE and the National Priorities Project (NPP) have helped coalitions prepare federal spending reports in Kansas, Nebraska, Massachusetts, Maine, New Jersey, and cities in several other states. This summer, the NPP produced issue papers on children's needs (with the Child Welfare League of America) and housing (with the National Low Income Housing Coalition), to be used as prototypes for regional reports on children's services and housing. Director Greg Speeter hopes that these reports, which are being mailed to SANE/FREEZE affiliates, will help build bridges between human service and peace activists.

The NPP is also developing a data base that will provide information at the state and local level on federal spending. Besides assisting local reports in Tennessee, this data will streamline research for activists across the nation who are looking for statistics on taxes paid to the military, how federal cuts affect domestic needs, and peace dividend alternatives.

Making Allies

Since its kickoff, TASC has maintained contact with Senator Sasser's Nashville office. TASC members also met with Sen. Albert Gore, Jr. (D-TN) and Rep. Robert Clement (D-TN), who represents Nashville. There is hope that TASC will "influence representatives and senators to shift federal spending from the military to human and community needs," says Louise Morris, Nashville SANE/FREEZE's director of development. "This is the most important issue we could be working on in this state," she adds.

Following a planning meeting in March, TASC and Mid-South Jobs with Justice (JWJ) agreed to cohost a town meeting on claiming the peace dividend. Held in May at the United Paperworkers International Union, the meeting was conducted simultaneously with more than seventy other such gatherings around the nation. The need to plan for economic conversion, respond to the the needs of defense-dependent communities, and enact appropriate state legislation were among the topics discussed at the event. Since then, TASC's economic conversion committee has begun working on these issues.

"We are working with TASC because their goals are the same as ours," says Gordon Brehm, a staffer with JWJ. "There is a misconception in the public that the defense industry is good because it creates jobs. The general public does not know that spending for social needs creates a lot more jobs and helps our own communities," says Brehm. "TASC is effective. They have put out outstanding material on defense work."

TASC members "celebrated" Tax Day on April 15. "In Memphis, we had a pubic event which included street theater and an opinion poll on how much we spend for military spending and domestic needs," reports Bill Akin, a TASC steering committee member who works with the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center. Brochures about military spending were distributed in Memphis and Nashville, where TASC members met with "a lot of positive responses from the public," says Akin.

"We need to redefine national security and educate people about where their tax dollars go," explains Chris Atwood. "The Cold War may be over, but the arms race is not."

Verna M. Fausey is editor of Southern Communities, *a regional newsletter based in Nashville.*

Honey, I Shrunk the Pentagon

The "Peace Dividend" Stories the News Media Miss

By Joseph J. Romm

The defense story of the 1980s is that Pentagon misspending and misplanning has guaranteed that the impending cuts in the military budget will be very, very painful. The story of the 1990s will be that the Pentagon is going to shrink drastically—to perhaps one-fourth its present size—with significant impact for arms control and U.S. national security. The news media have by and large missed the first story and have not yet focused on the second.

Prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the major defense story of the last six months has been the "peace dividend": How much can be saved from the military budget because of the erosion of the Soviet bloc? Just about every major story on this subject has so far been misleading or incorrect, failing to distinguish between cuts that would represent a true "dividend" and reductions motivated by deficit-reduction considerations. But reporters have few independent sources to turn to in judging Pentagon or congressional proposals for military cuts.

The peace dividend story first took off last November, when Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney announced that he would ask the armed services to draw up plans for cutting military spending to below the rate of inflation over the next few years. The *New York Times*'s November 18 headline was typical: MILITARY TO DRAFT PLAN FOR 6 PERCENT CUT IN 1992–1994 SPENDING. The second deck read, $180 BILLION DROP. The third paragraph of the story, citing administration sources, said these cuts "would represent an average annual drop of about 5 percent in spending after inflation over the three-year period."

In fact, Cheney's proposals took as their baseline the Pentagon's original "wish list" five-year plan, which had been projected to grow about 2 percent a year after inflation for five years. Under Cheney's proposed "cuts," the budget would not decline 5 percent a year from current budget levels; it would decline only 2 to 3 percent a year.

For the last five years, the defense budget has been declining at an average of 2.8 percent per year, in order to meet the deficit-reduction targets set by the 1985 Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget-balancing law. Since the deficit hasn't vanished—it has been stuck at around $150 billion for the last three years—it seems fair to say that for the foreseeable future any annual cut in military spending that is under 2.8 percent is due to the deficit rather than to changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

More important, however, was that the Pentagon had yet to identify most of the $167 billion in cuts needed to realize modest five-year reductions. In mid-June, when Cheney finally unveiled a plan to identify these cuts, he proposed reducing the size of U.S. military forces by 25 percent merely to achieve 2 percent annual cuts for the next five years. The main reason his plan requires such remarkable downsizing to achieve such small budget cuts is that, as Michael Gordon reported in the *New York Times*'s June 20 lead story, the plan still allows for "sizable increases in spending for the antimissile defense program, the procurement of new strategic nuclear weapons systems, the purchase of new conventional weapons and sizable spending on the research and development of new weapons." A failure to understand the cost implications of new programs is the reason most news articles that describe possible budget savings through canceling individual weapons systems are largely wrong.

As defense analyst William Kaufmann wrote in a report published last December by the Brookings Institution, all of these weapons would have to be suspended at the research and development stage simply "to help remove the backlog of programs that would otherwise increase national defense spending by at least 5 percent a year, in real terms, between fiscal 1990 and 1994." In other words, canceling these weapons programs will only stop spending growth and cannot be described as a way of achieving spending cuts.

Budgeting from Scratch

Kaufmann, who has written or contributed to military-force posture statements for six secretaries of defense from Robert McNamara to Harold Brown, is one of those few people in the country who can write a defense budget from scratch—a task that requires forecasting the costs of personnel, research and development, weapons acquisition, operation, and maintenance over a multiyear period. Kaufmann presented a detailed analysis of how to cut the defense budget by half in the Brookings report, the only comprehensive study of how to achieve long-term, sustainable cuts in the defense budget.

Although Kaufmann's piece was widely covered as a spot news story at the time of its release, few reporters explained exactly how startling a document it is, nor have they been able to apply its logic to the defense budget stories they have been covering since. Consider, for example, what he proposes to cut in order to reduce the defense budget a mere 3 percent per year (after inflation) between 1990 and 1994. First, he would suspend produc-

tion of the entire next generation of conventional weapons systems. But then he would also halt production of nearly the entire next generation of strategic nuclear systems—the stealth bomber, the rail-garrison MX, and the small ICBM (Midgetman). In addition, the B1-B bomber would be converted to a cruise missile carrier, the B-52 bombers phased out, the MX mothballed, and the Trident II missile program scaled back. Funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) would have to be reduced to $3 billion a year. Finally, Kaufmann would eliminate two aircraft carrier battle groups, leaving the country with a 500-ship navy.

Nevertheless, these seemingly draconian cuts would achieve only a 3 percent annual reduction in the defense budget—basically the same annual rate of reduction the United States has already achieved for five years under Gramm-Rudman. That is, in order for defense spending five years from now to be 15 percent lower than it is today, the United States would have to halt its modernization of both conventional and nuclear forces, shrink its nuclear arsenal, and abandon forever the 600-ship navy.

This raises the question of what has happened to the $2.8 trillion the United States spent on defense in the 1980s. During the Reagan administration's first term, the Pentagon did little more than tread water, even though military spending grew by more than 50 percent after inflation and the budget for military hardware doubled. For the last five years, as the cost of weapons kept rising and budgets kept declining, a shrinking military became inevitable.

While Congress has played its own role in this growing crisis—by fighting to keep unnecessary pork-barrel weapons programs on track—it has been largely reactive, trimming around the edges of the budget (of the $2.2 trillion the Pentagon asked for during the Reagan years, Congress approved $2.1 trillion). Meanwhile, the Pentagon, either unaware of or unconcerned by the approaching budget crisis, continued in each of the last five years to project steady increases in its budget, even as the actual budgets were being cut.

Post-Cold War Budget?

Despite the sweeping changes in Eastern Europe, President Bush proposed only a 2.6 percent cut in military spending for fiscal year 1991. The Office of Management and Budget reported that his overall budget request would reduce the projected budget deficit by $37.4 billion, of which a mere $3.1 billion would result from cuts in military spending. A true peace dividend, seizing the opportunity presented by the demise of the Warsaw Pact, would require much deeper cuts than these.

This perspective was largely absent in the news media's coverage of Bush's proposals, which seemed to accept the administration's own views of its actions and of the opportunities offered by the Warsaw Pact's demise. For instance, Molly Moore and George C. Wilson, writing in a December 7, 1989, *Washington Post* story, CHENEY-DARMAN DISPUTE STALLS DEFENSE BUDGET PLAN, described budget director Richard Darman as "continuing his hard drive for deep cutbacks." The next day, on the *Post*'s front page (PENTAGON LOSES '91 BUDGET FIGHT; 2 PERCENT CUT PLANNED), Moore described Bush's decision to propose 2 percent cuts as "handing his budget director a victory over his defense secretary." By presenting a tiff as a titanic battle from which the budget director emerged victorious, the coverage implied that the outcome meant a significant cut. In fact, it was barely in line with the cuts of the last five years, which preceded the demise of the Warsaw Pact.

To produce a true "peace dividend," Kaufmann would cut America's military in half by the end of the decade. In addition to cuts in next-generation weapons programs, he would reduce U.S. armed forces to 4,000 strategic nuclear warheads (down from approximately 12,000), seven active army divisions (down from nineteen), twelve active air force wings (864 combat aircraft instead of 1,728), six carrier battle groups (instead of fourteen), and a 257-ship navy.

In the short run, the Pentagon could conceivably achieve defense budget cuts without taking Kaufmann's approach by continuing to make disproportionately deep cuts in "bread and butter" items such as training, maintenance, spare parts, and ammunition, as it has over the last four years. Yet most analysts agree that, in the long run, the only way to save on training and maintenance is to have significantly smaller forces needing to be trained and maintained. The upshot again is, America's armed forces must shrink.

How much they shrink will depend on whether or not the Pentagon can make—or be forced to make—realistic plans for deep, long-term budget cuts. Consider the following back-of-the-envelope calculation: In the 1980s, the budget for military hardware doubled, but so did the unit cost of the weapons purchased. As a result, the military ended up with roughly the same number of weapons. The Pentagon's budget is likely to be cut in half in the 1990s; if it uses this budget to purchase the same weapons it did in the 1980s, it will only be able to field forces half as large as those in the 1980s. But if this scaled-down budget is used to purchase the next generation of conventional and nuclear weapons—which cost roughly twice as much as their predecessors—then the military will be able to field forces only one-fourth as large as those in the 1980s. Moreover, the new, more complex and sophisticated weapons require higher operations and maintenance costs, further constricting the budget.

Cheney's proposal to Congress in June shows that this is exactly what the Pentagon is planning: to reduce force size while protecting almost every new weapons system. The fact that Cheney must reduce forces by 25 percent to achieve only a 10 percent cut in spending over five years makes clear that the deeper budget cuts the Pentagon will eventually face will force much more drastic changes.

Unless the Pentagon comes up with realistic, long-term plans for deep cuts in all the services' budgets, the next generation of expensive weapons will continue to move through the production cycle, ensuring that, when the bill comes due, future cuts will be even more damaging. Those who would use the Persian Gulf crisis to keep alive these weapons may only be accelerating

the Pentagon's shrinking. Anticipating this danger will require more vigilant reporting than that we have had so far.

Stories of the Nineties

Over the next few years, as the budget debate becomes more serious, a number of new stories will develop that will require close scrutiny by the press. For one, members of Congress and independent groups will issue reports that propose cancellation of certain weapons systems to cut the budget, but that fail to address the budget question in a systematic way. For example, already, on April 6, Helen Dewar of the *Washington Post* and Michael Gordon of the *New York Times* reported that Senators William Cohen and John McCain had made the following proposals to double Bush's proposed cuts of 2 percent a year (after inflation) for the next five years: reduce U.S. forces in Europe and U.S. naval forces, curtail the stealth bomber, freeze SDI spending, negotiate the elimination of the rail-based MX, defer the air force's Advanced Tactical Fighter, and defer a land-based missile and sensor designed for Europe. Gordon wrote that "the Republicans acknowledged that their recommendations fell short of a detailed blueprint," but he did not explain that, in the world of Pentagon budget cutting, this makes their proposed cuts almost meaningless.

The point here is that any plan to cut the defense budget that is not detailed is no plan at all. Reporters must place the burden of proof on the proponents of cuts to demonstrate that what they propose does, in fact, address the whole budget-cutting process that has now become inevitable.

As the military services scramble to hold on to their piece of a shrinking pie, the need for journalistic scrutiny of the defense budget trade-offs and their implications for U.S. national security will grow. The navy, for example, will likely continue to testify that, in spite of the changes in the Soviet bloc, it needs to keep all of the approximately 560 ships now in its fleet and needs to produce every new weapons system being designed. Many reporters now seem to accept the navy's view that its mission will be less affected by events in Europe than that of other services. The question of missions and strategy merits at least as much scrutiny by reporters as the question of how individual weapons systems fit into strategies. Most analysts outside the Pentagon agree that only an intact Warsaw Pact—posing the threat of a multifront war in central, northern, and southern Europe combined simultaneously with offensives in the Atlantic and Pacific—necessitates a large standing army, navy, and air force.

There is another defense budget story that could emerge in the 1990s: how congressional budget cutters are undermining America's position in arms control negotiations, or how U.S. arms controllers are failing to acknowledge fiscal reality. Currently, neither the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe talks nor the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty talks are being pursued by the United States with the defense budget in mind. Indeed, the cuts they so far contemplate do not even approach the level of cuts that will be dictated by constraints on the military budget.

As arguments about "the third world threat," "Soviet instability," and "the arms control process" are advanced in efforts to delay deep cuts, it will be incumbent upon reporters to pose tough questions about their strategic soundness. As terms such as "peace dividend," "spending cuts," and "projected savings" continue to be used by politicians and Pentagon officials with notable imprecision, reporters will have the unenviable task of cutting through the rhetoric and fiscal sleight of hand to expose what is really at stake. Misspending and misplanning by the Pentagon have already ensured that budget cuts will be difficult for the services to make. The longer these cuts are delayed, and the less realistically they are planned for, the more painful they will be—for the Pentagon and for the country as a whole.

Joseph J. Romm is assistant to the president on international security at the Rockefeller Foundation. The views expressed here are his own.

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Greenpeace Nuclear Free Seas Campaign, 1436 U St., NW, Washington, DC 20009, 202/462-1177.

Hanford Education Action League, South 325 Oak St., Spokane, WA 99204, 509/624-7256.

Military Production Network, 1819 H St., NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20006, 202/785-1993.

Mobilization for Survival, 45 John St., #811, New York, NY 10038, 212/385-2222.

National Impact, 100 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002, 202/544-8636.

National SANE/FREEZE, 1819 H St., NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20006, 202/862-9740.

Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218, 301/235-3575.

Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas, 17973 Tyler Foote Rd., Nevada City, CA 95959, 916/292-3357.

U.S. CTB Coalition, 1000 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036, 202/862-4596.

The Video Project, 5332 College Ave., Suite 101, Oakland, CA 94618, 415/655-9050.

Volunteers for Peace, Inc., Tiffany Rd., Belmont, VT 05730, 802/259-2759.

War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, 212/228-0450.

Women Strike for Peace, 105 Second St., NE, Washington, DC 20002.

World Information Clearing Centre (WICC), PO Box 58, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland, Phone (022) 798 51 62.

World Without War Council, 2929 N.E. Blakeley Street, Seattle, WA 98105, 206/523-4755.

KAZAKHS STOP SOVIET TESTING:

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, 126 Rogers St., Cambridge, MA 02142-1096, 617/868-5050.

Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement, Kazakh Writers Union of Kazakhstan, USSR, Kazakh, 480091, Alma-Ata Kommunistichesky Prosp 105, Telex 251225 (WIZA SU).

TOXIC TRAVELS:

Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes, PO Box 926, Arlington, VA 22216, 703/276-7070.

Military Toxics Network, 2802 E. Madison, Suite 177, Seattle, WA 98112, 206/328-5257.

National Toxics Campaign, 1168 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02134, 617/232-0327.

National Weapons Facilities Network, 45 John St., #811, New York, NY 10038, 212/385-2222.

North Carolina Coastal Federation, Hadnot Creek Farm 3223-4, Hwy 58, Swansboro, NC 28584, 919/393-8185

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SouthWest Organizing Project, 1114 7th St., NW, Albuquerque, NM 87102, 505/247-8832.

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Brandywine Peace Community, PO Box 81, Swarthmore, PA 19081, 215/544-1818.

Earth First!, PO Box 5871, Tucson, AZ 85703, 602/622-1371.

Gulf Coast Tenants' Association, 1866 North Gayoso, New Orleans, LA 70119, 504/949-4919.

Public Media Center, 466 Green St., San Francisco, CA 94133, 415/625-1876.

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INTERNATIONAL:

European Nuclear Disarmament, 11 Goodwin St., London N4 3HQ, England, Telephone 01 4471 272 9092.

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Tennessee Alliance for Strong Communities, PO Box 121072, Nashville, TN 37212, 615/244-4387.

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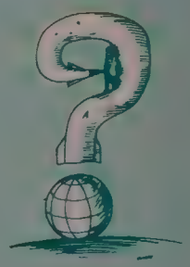

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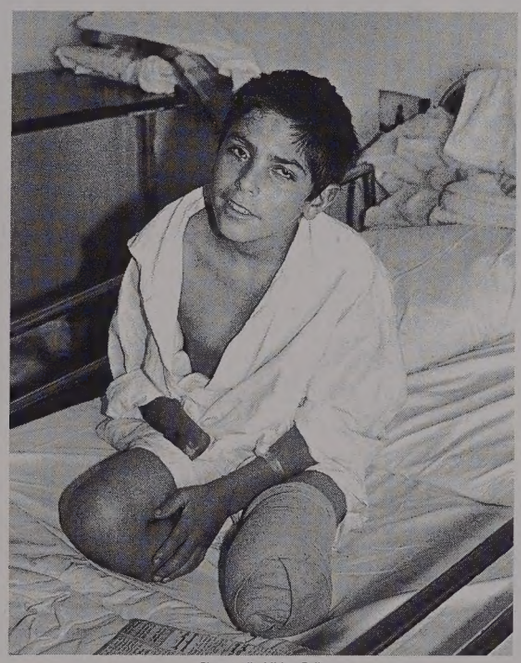

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